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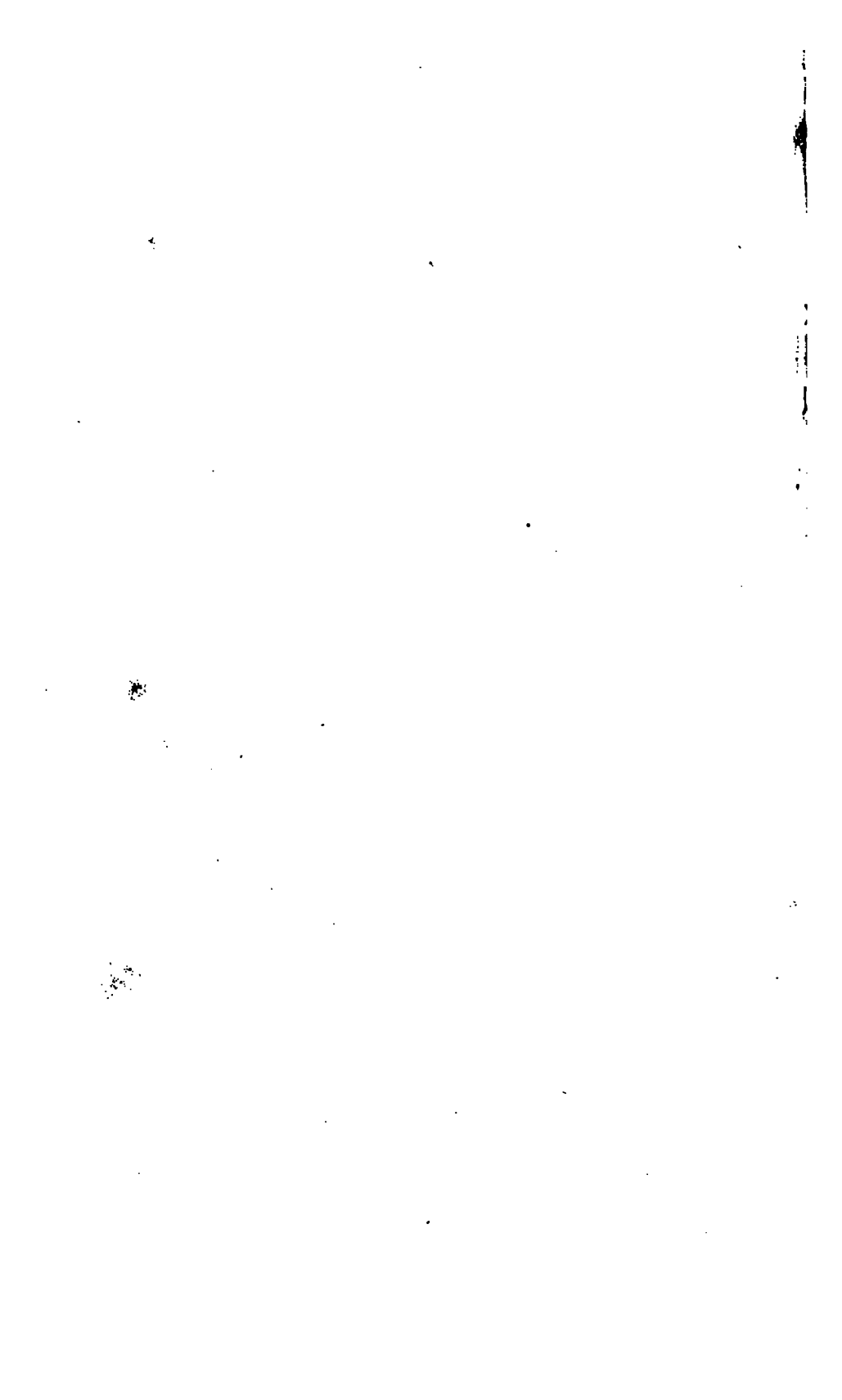
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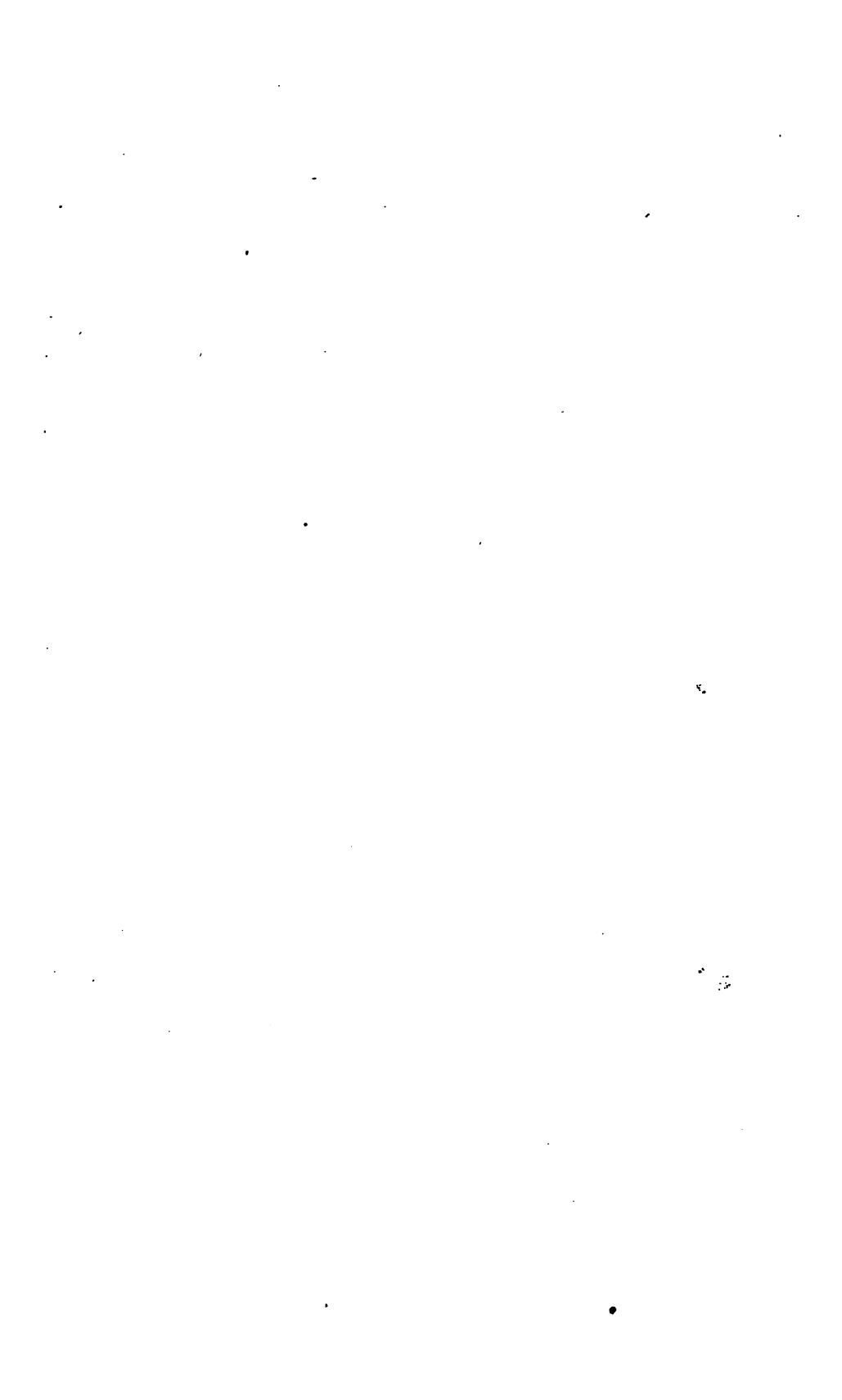
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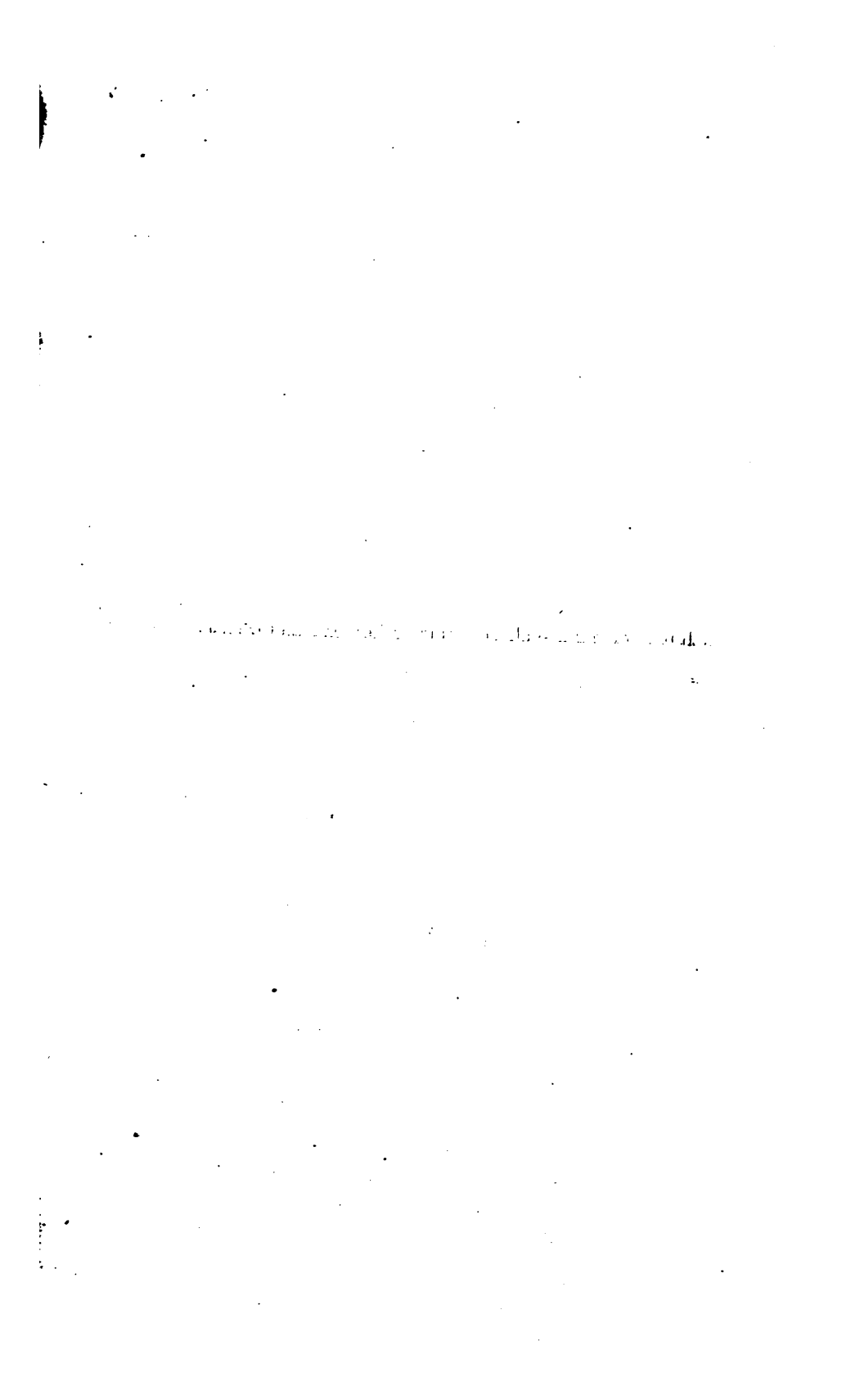
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IRISH ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.





IRISH
ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES,

BY

SIR WILLIAM BETHAM, F.S.A., L.S.
M.R.I.A. A.R.S. Z.S.

**ULSTER KING OF ARMS OF ALL IRELAND, KEEPER OF THE RECORDS OF
THE LATE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND, DEPUTY KEEPER
OF THE RECORDS IN BIRMINGHAM TOWER, IN HIS
MAJESTY'S CASTLE OF DUBLIN, &c. &c.**

PART. II.

*"Si de veritate scandalum sumitur, utilius permittitur nasci scandalum, quam
ut veritas relinquantur."*

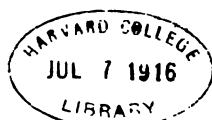
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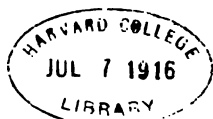
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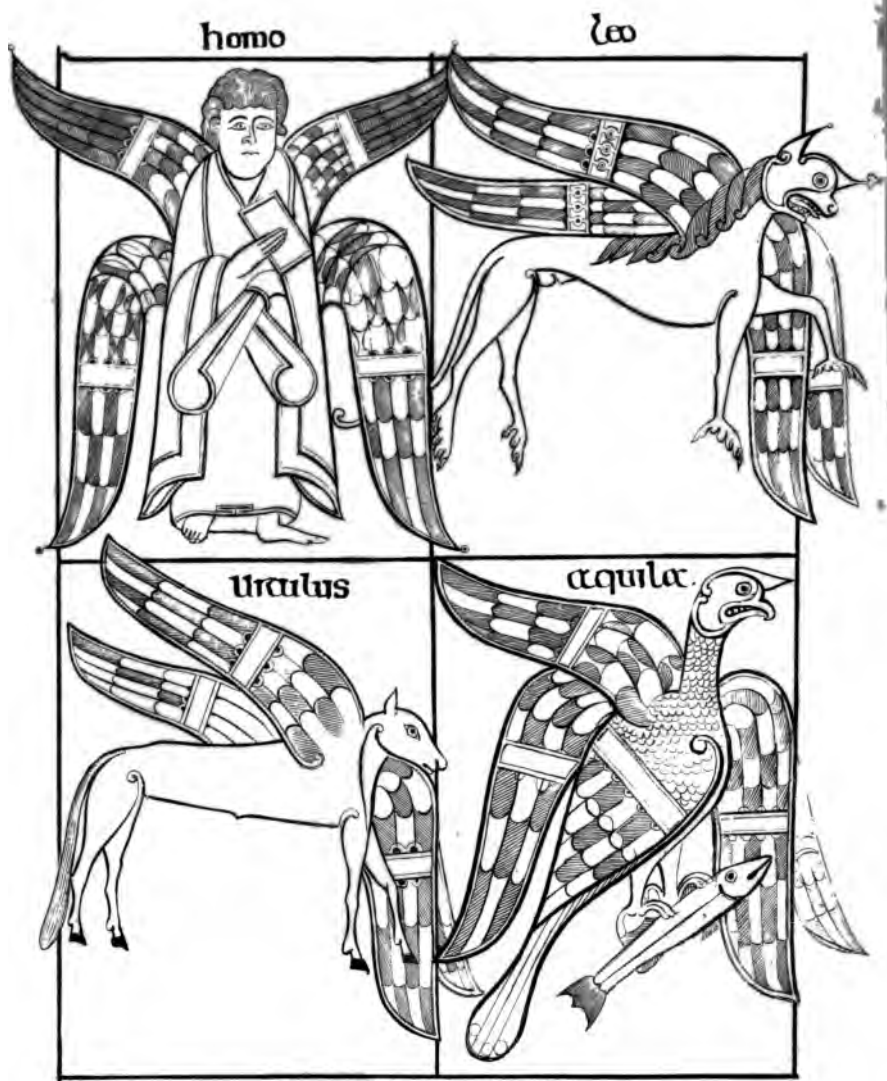
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IRISH ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.



Engraved by Kirkwood & Son, 37, Crafts, St. Dublin.

Emblems of the Evangelists, at the beginning of the Gospel of St. Matthew, in the Book of Armagh.

Published by Wm. Curry, 27, St. Dublin

IRISH
ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

THE *Psalter of Columbkil*, the *Book of Dimma*, and the *Book of Armagh*, are national muniments, of which all Irishmen may be justly proud, may exultingly produce as evidences of the civilization and literary acquirements of their country, at an age, when other nations of Europe, if not in utter ignorance and barbarism, were in their primers, their very horn-books.

The *Psalter of Columbkil*, written in the sixth century, is probably the oldest Irish MS. extant. The four gospels of *Dimma*, written

early in the seventh century, is, perhaps, the oldest in the *pure Irish character*.*

The *Book of Armagh*, also written in the seventh century, in the pure Irish character, mixed with the Greek, although of somewhat later date than the others, contains evidence so unequivocal and unquestionable of the history of that early period as to give it a paramount interest and value. The period to which it refers, has hitherto been enveloped in obscurity, rendered more dark by fabricated legends, invented for the express purposes of deception, to make posterity believe they saw the substance, while a shadow was exhibited to their contemplation, to give to *Palladius* the name and character of *Patricius*, and to obliterate the recollection of the latter from the minds and attachment of the grateful and affectionate Irish, by giving his

* From the writing of the *Visitation of the Sick*, in *Dimma's* book, and the entry written in the presence of *Brien Boiroimhe*, in the year 1006, in the book of *Armagh*, being precisely the same character, and differing in toto from that of the remainder of the MSS. commencing on a spare blank part of the vellum, at the end of the gospel of St. Luke, and continued on an inserted membrane, I consider it to have been written long after the book itself, viz. at the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century.

name to a phantom, raised at the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh century, for *Palladius, or any of his successors, were not called Patrick*, nor had the fraud been contemplated until that period. It was, indeed, a master-stroke of policy. We have now a key which opens the door, and discovers the clue to all the incongruities and contradictions which have perplexed the learned, respecting St. Patrick, by shewing us that the Roman writers called *many men Patrick*, who while living never bore the name. The place of his birth, his relations, his uncle St. Martin, in fact, his almost ubiquity, are accounted for, which so long has been an historical harlequinade. But I am going prematurely into the case, let us return. The book of *Armagh* also, contains evidence of learning, beyond even the most sanguine hopes and expectations of the most patriotic Irishman; it exhibits an acquaintance with the Greek as well as the Latin tongue; and more, in it will be found evidence to convince the most sceptical, that Ireland, in the seventh century, was a cultivated and civilized country, and had been so for centuries; that Christianity had long before enlightened her people, and that not in isolated and individual cases, where its professors shrunk from its avowal, not here and

there in a monastery, on the coast, or in fortified places, surrounded by paganism, and persecution, like an *oasis* in the desert; no, Ireland was then, and long had been, a *Christian nation*, governed by wholesome laws, which protected the lives and properties of its inhabitants, and respected and shielded the stranger.

Hitherto, we have “*looked through a glass darkly* ;” we have *heard* of the civilization of antient Scotia, but the medium of legends, traditions, and fabrications, through which it has reached our ears, has been so corrupt, that, if we were even assured of the truth, it was associated with so much falsehood, that we hesitated to receive the palatable, on account of the disgusting vehicle in which it was involved. So much impurity had obscured the pure gold, nay, hid it for ages, that it baffled the most eminent, skilful, and learned historical chemists, to develope its natural beauty and purity.

Notwithstanding the powerful exertions of Ware and Usher, they did not supply us with a rational theory, or any feasible or even satisfactory account of the early history of Ireland.

These learned and able writers rather collected evidence, than drew conclusions, or arranged any thing like a continuous history; they published essays on particular subjects, and printed antient historical tracts, and thus left us but the raw materials.—Usher's Ecclesiastical History, is a work of immense labour and research, but it is only for the learned—to the public, the million, it is a sealed book. It is much to be lamented that this able work has not been translated, as it is calculated to do much good, were it made accessible to all.

It is very singular, that both Ware and Usher saw, and extracted from the Book of Armagh, and yet neither appear to have made themselves acquainted with its most important contents, or looked beyond those passages they thought most proper to publish. Those selected by Usher refer to *Ultan* and *Tirechan* the Bishops; and are to be found in pp. 818, 963, 964, and 1067. *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis*, Edit. Dublin, 1639. Sir James Ware published the Confession of St. Patrick, in 1656, in the "*Opuscula S. Patricio adscripta*," from this very book; and in his annotations, mentions certain notes and sentences therein, which proves he had

examined it ; but it must have been in a very superficial manner, as he says it contained *the entire version of the Scriptures*, while it has but the *New Testament*, and he is altogether silent as to its most valuable historical contents. Sir James, on all difficult points, considers it prudent to leave them to the decision of the reader's judgment, which is certainly modest, but it deprives us of the opinion of an able and judicious antiquary.

I am fully aware of the danger I incur of critical castigation, by the promulgation of opinions and conclusions, now advanced for the first time. I have taken a view altogether novel with respect to the antient church of Ireland, and St. Patrick's mission, and indeed as to the History of Ireland generally. I found it impossible to reconcile *the parts* of the history, they will not form *a whole*, so completely did they contradict and destroy each other's testimony. It appeared impossible to question the fact of St. Patrick's existence, at some time or other, so much is his name mixed up with the traditions of ages ; yet, until now, I could discover no *unquestionable evidence of him*, of documents written previous to the 10th or 11th century. The Book of Armagh supplies us with evidence of the

7th, and that of the most satisfactory character, and puts the question at rest as to *his existence*. Hitherto we had almost rejected him as repugnant to testimony above suspicion: *Prosper*, who wrote in the 5th century, is silent; *Bede mentions him not*, if we except the Martyrology, but supplies us with evidence of the existence of Christianity in Ireland, before the alleged and generally received period of his mission, and also a statement from Colman of the pretensions of his countrymen to greater antiquity of Christianity, who likewise sets up the ecclesiastical usages of the *Scots* as more correct than the *Roman*; who is moreover, in some measure, taunted by his adversaries with *presumption*, for considering his corner of the world to be *wiser than the Universal Church*. But it is useless to waste words and arguments, to establish a conceded fact. *Colgan*, and all the other Romish writers, allow the previous existence of Christianity to the mission of *Palladius*, to have been proved by the evidence of *Prosper*, *Bede*, *Ado Viennensis*, *Freculphus Lexoniensis*, *Ingulphus Croylandiensis*, *Hermanus Contractus*, *Marianus Scotus*, *Florence of Worcester*, *Henry of Huntingdon*, and many others, and mention *Albeus*, *Declan*, *Ibarus*, and *Kiaran*, as four eminent bishops, previous to the mission of

Palladius. Still, most unaccountably do these writers strenuously insist on the *conversion* of the *Scots by their missionary*, in the teeth of their previous admissions, and the lives and actions of *their Patrick*, speak of the *perfect novelty* of Christianity among the *Heathen Scots*. They seem quite blind to the inconsistency and incongruity of their statements with each other.

The truth is, as will be shewn in the following pages, that the first Apostle of Ireland, *Patrick, the Roman Briton*, introduced Christianity into Ireland centuries before the year 430, and *Palladius* was *truly* sent to the *Scots believing in Christ, a nation of Christians*, where a Christian Church had long flourished in apostolic purity ; and *Celestine*, on the spread of the Pelagian heresy in the British Islands, sent *Palladius* on a mission to eradicate that error.

I shall now proceed to a description and history of this venerable relique.

The *Book of Armagh* is a MS. on vellum, of the small quarto size, eight inches high, six inches wide, and about three inches thick. It is fairly written in columns on both sides of the

membranes, in the Irish character, mixed with Greek capitals, and is in fine preservation.—It contains 221 membranes and 442 pages: it is every where perfect, excepting the first membrane, part of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and a few pages which have suffered so much by attrition as to deface the writing.

It has been bound in oak boards, covered with black leather, and was formerly covered either with silver plates, or pins in the figure of a cross surmounted by a saltire surrounded by a border. The stumps of the silver pins still remain, and are very thick and strong—It appears to have had a previous covering of crimson leather, similar to the old Turkey, part of which still remains, and its front was fastened with brass loops—a part of one is still extant.

I wished much to have given a plate of the singular case in which this MS. has been preserved; it is of thick black leather, with raised ornaments of animals and grotesque devices; but I had not time to accomplish it without postponing the publication for another year. It has a very antient brass lock with a hasp, part of which still remains, and had originally eight brazen staples, which passed

through the lid or cover, and appears to have had a bolt or pin pass through them and under the hasp, to fasten by the lock in a manner similar to the small portmanteau or valise of modern times.

Archbishop Usher, in his work, "*De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum*," pp. 818, 963, 964, and 1067, published 1639, gives extracts from this work, but does not, as far as I have been able to discover, give any history of the book itself.

In 1656, Sir James Ware published a small tract, under the following title:—

"*S. Patricio, qui Hibernos ad fidem Christi convertit, adscripta Opuscula. Quorum aliqua nunc primum, ex antiquis MSS. codicibus in lucem emissa sunt; reliqua recognita; omnia, notis ad rem historicam et antiquariam spectantibus, illustrata. Opera et studio Jacobi Waræi, Eq. Aur. Londoni, 1656.*"

In this curious, valuable, and now very rare tract, Sir James gives the Confessio of St. Patrick, from the *Book of Armagh*, but *colated and enlarged* from the Cotton MS. and those in the cathedral of Salisbury. He marks

with inverted commas, the passages from the latter authorities. Dr. O'Connor, has also published this document in his *Prolegomena, Pars I. p. cvii.* without, however, the caution of Sir James Ware's inverted commas. In his annotations on this document, Sir James gives the following observations:—

“ The MS. of the church of Armagh, above mentioned, contains besides the Confessio of St. Patrick, *the Holy Bible*, from the version of St. Jerome, and a very antient copy of *Sulpitius Severus*, concerning the life of St. Martin of Tours. It was formerly so highly prized, that the family of *Mac Mayer* held lands from the see of Armagh by the tenure of the safe keeping of this MS. Great veneration for this book was excited in the vulgar mind, by the supposition that it was written by the hand of St. Patrick himself, and certainly, at the end of his confession, these words are added, “ *Thus far is the volume which Patrick wrote with his own hand,*” and afterwards, “ *On the 17th of March, Patrick was translated to heaven.*” However, from the nature of the character, there is sufficient proof that it is not an autograph, but was transcribed at a much later date.”

With deference to so great a scholar and antiquary and to the character of a man I so highly venerate, I cannot avoid saying, the observations of Sir James on this MS. were very superficial, as the reader will find on examining the real catalogue of its contents; the article he extracted, the *Confessio*, purports to be no more than *a transcript from the real autograph of St. Patrick*, as is evident from the side-notes, which occur of *incertus liber hic*, indicating that the scribe could not be responsible for the true meaning, on account of the difficulty in reading *the original*. The note "*Thus far the volume, &c.*" was evidently copied from the original, and did not pretend to be the autograph itself.

The following description of this MS. from the catalogue of the learned Humphrey Lhwyd, was transmitted to Dr. O'Connor, by the kindness of the Right Hon. Charles Williams Wynne:—

"This MS. beyond all doubt, is very ancient, whether it be or be not, partly in the hand-writing of St. Patrick himself, (as is stated at the bottom of page 24.) but appears very likely to me to be of a later

age, and perhaps, it is the text of the gospels which St. Bernard, in the life of St. Malachy, reckons among the muniments of the see of Armagh, and relates to have been the text of St. Patrick himself. By Usher and Ware, it is called the *Book of Armagh*, but by the Irish the *Book of the Canons of St. Patrick*; thus called (as I think) from the Canons of the Evangelists, agreeing with one another, begun in page 26. This book was formerly held in great estimation by the ancient Irish, so much so, that the family commonly called *Mac Maor*, in English *Mac Mayre*, had their name from the custody of this book. For *Maor* in Irish, is *keeper*; and *Maor-na-Canon*, is *keeper of the Canons*; all that family were commonly so called, and they formerly held from the See of Armagh eight townlands in the county of ———, called the lands of *Ballymaire*, by the tenure of the safe keeping of this book; in whose hands it remained during many ages, until *Florence Mac Mayre* went to England in the year 1680. That he should give evidence (which I should doubt the truth of) against Oliver Plunket, D.D. the Roman Catholic prelate of Ireland, who undeservedly, as is believed, was executed. But *Mayre* being deficient of money at his death, this manuscript was left as

a pledge for five pounds ; fortunately, it afterwards came to the hands of Arthur Brownlow, Esq. who, with considerable labour, placed the loose leaves in their proper order, and put folios at the top of each page, and other marks in the margin to distinguish the chapters, and had the leaves so arranged in their original binding, (as it now appears) and caused them to be preserved together with a certain bull of the Roman pontiff found with the same. It contains fragments of lives of St. Patrick, written by divers authors, for the most part anonymous. It also contains the confession of St. Patrick, or as I would more correctly say, *his Epistle to the Irish*, then lately converted to the faith. It also contains the epistle from St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, written by way of preface to his version. There are also ten canons which shew the concordance of the gospels with each other, and also short causes or interpretations of each of the gospels, and the New Testament, of the version, I think, of St. Jerome, in which is found the epistle to the Laodiceans, which is mentioned in that of the Colossians. In the first epistle of St. John, the verse is wanting. "*There are three which bear witness in heaven, &c.*" There are also explanations of the Hebrew names found in each of the gospels,

together with many arguments of various authors to each gospel, and also, others referring to most of the epistles. At the end is the life of St. Martin of Tours, uncle (as is alleged) of St. Patrick, written by Sulpicius Severus. Note.—That in the gospel of St. Matthew, there are wanting, as I suppose, four folios, that is from the twenty-ninth verse of the fourteenth chapter to the fourth verse of the twenty-first chapter. The Epistles of the apostles are not placed in the order in which they are found at this day.”—*O’Conor, Epist. Nuncupatorium lvi.*

Such is the account given by the learned Sir James Ware, and Humphrey Lhwyd, of this curious and valuable MS. which identifies and completes its history.

Lhwyd, however, could not have *critically* examined the book, he was too learned in ancient writing, to have given so imperfect a sketch of its contents, which are of so extraordinary a character.

It was written by *Aidus*, bishop of Slepten,* who died about the year 698, and dedicated to *Segenius*, bishop of Armagh and his

* Now *Sletty* in the Queen’s county.

successors, with whom it was afterwards deposited.

Its contents are as follows :—

The first membrane is wanting ; from p. 2 to 8, is the life of St. Patrick, very nearly similar to that published by Colgan, as the writing of Probus ; p. 9, first column is an account of some acts and sayings of St. Patrick, by an anonymous author.

The second column commences the life or acts of St. Patrick, collected by *Tirechan*, bishop of *Meath*, as is said, who lived at the end of the seventh century. He commences thus, “ *Tirechan, the bishop, wrote this from the mouth and book of Ultan, the bishop, whose pupil, or disciple, he was.*

After which, to folio 19, are a collection of memoranda from various authorities, on the subject of St. Patrick and the *apostolic city of Armagh*, and among them is a memorandum in a more modern hand, stating that that particular paragraph, was written in the presence of *Brien, Emperor of the Scots*.*

* This was Brien Boiromhe. See fac simile of this passage plate xi. No. 4.

At page 19, is the recapitulation of *Aidus*, and his account of the authorities he had consulted, and the value he placed upon their evidence, with the "*Book of the Angel*," which contains certain privileges of the city of Armagh, her right to the primacy, &c. &c.

In page 21, is the confession of St. Patrick, at the foot end of which are the following words :—

"Hucusque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua. Septima-decima Martii die translatus est Patricius ad cœlos."

"*Thus far is the volume that Patrick wrote with his own hand. On the 17th day of March he was translated to the heavens.*"

Page 25. The letter of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, generally printed before his version of the New Testament, with which however it differs, both as to its language and extent, this letter containing more than is printed in the Vulgate.

Page 26. The first canon in which is pointed out the passages where the four Gospels agree

with each other, and is followed by nine other canons.

Page 29. Commences the short statements of the contents of the gospels, called *Breves Causæ*, which occupy five pages ; after membrane 31, commence explanations of the Hebrew names, which occupy the first column of page 32. The second is the *Argumentum Matthei*, or preface to the gospel of St. Matthew, on the back of which are the emblems of the four Evangelists, of which plate X. is a *fac simile*. Then follows, in page 33, the gospel of St. Matthew, which occupies from page 33 to 52. On page 53 is the *Argumentum Marci*, or argument to the gospel of St. Mark, with a short explanation of Hebrew names ; on the back of which is the lion of St. Mark.—(See plate X.)

On folio 54, commences the gospel of St. Mark, which ends in folio 67 ; where commences, at the bottom of the second column, the argument to the gospel of St. Luke, which ends at the bottom of the first column of the succeeding folio 68. The second is occupied by an explanation of the proper names. On the back of this folio is the calf, the emblem of St. Luke.—(See plate X.)

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3. *Results*

4. *Discussion*

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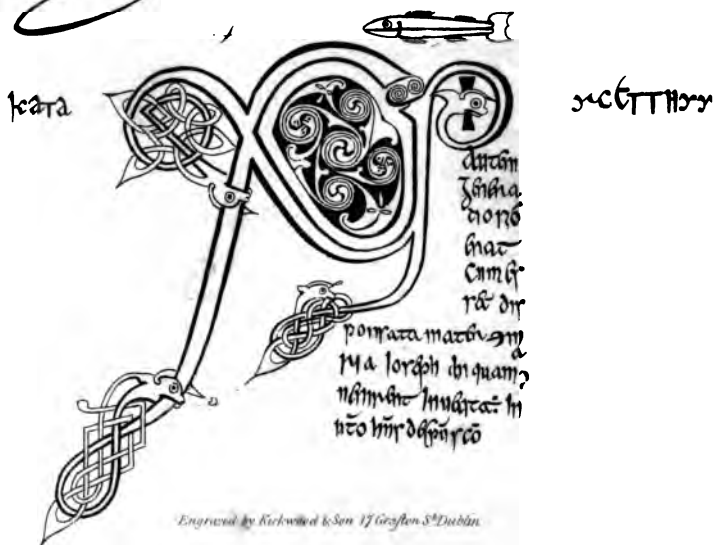
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FAC-SIMILES FROM THE BOOK OF ARMAGH



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 Grrap ued boi nlabq lnd dnuidd mu
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 muchus dubbne ragns bichampch
 andacht duand padopuwaed andacht
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 lnd conchad duand machs copuabaga
 fland pobus achill dso 7z abri ca
 dgrm ubbanchi.

5
 Liber Laurentii Minor
 June 29th 1662



On folio 69, commences the gospel of St. Luke, which ends at folio 89; on the back of which is the argument to the gospel of St. John, and an explanation of proper names.

On the face of folio 90, commences the gospel according to St. John; at the bottom of this page is his emblem, the eagle, (see plate X.) It ends in folio 103. On the back of this page is the autograph of *Florence Maire*, as follows:—" *Liber Florentini Maire, June 29, 1629,*" of which see the fac simile in plate XII. No. 3.

On the front of folio 105, is the prologue of St. Hilary, to the epistles of the apostles; and on the back of the same folio is the prologue of *Pelagius to all the epistles*; and about the middle of the first column of the face of folio 106, is the prologue of *Pelagius*, to the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, which occupies the remainder of the face, and the first column of the back. The second column on the back is occupied with observations on certain texts of St. Paul's epistles. On the back of folio 107, is the argument of *Pelagius* to the epistle to the Romans. The epistle commences in p. 108, and ends p. 115, where commences, on the second column, on the face,

with an argument, the first epistle to the Corinthians, which ends on the first column of the face of the 122d folio. On the second column of which commences the second epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, which ends at the bottom of the second page of folio 126; where commences the epistle to the Galatians, which is preceded by an argument of St. Jerome, and also, one by *Pelagius*, and ends at the bottom of the first column of the second page, of folio 129, where commences, with an argument by *Pelagius*, the epistle to the Ephesians, which ends about the middle of the second column of the first page, of folio 132; where commences the epistle to the Philippians, which also has an argument, and ends at the second page of folio 133, at the bottom of which commences the argument of *Pelagius*, to the first epistle to the Thessalonians, which begins in the next page 134, and ends in the second page of folio 135; where commences the argument of *Pelagius* to the second epistle to the Thessalonians, which follows, and ends in the first column of the second page of folio 136; where, with an argument by *Pelagius*, commences the Epistle to the Colossians, which ends at the bottom of the first column of the first page of folio 138; at the top of the second column commences

the *epistle to the Laodiceans*, which has this preface, "*Incipit epistolam ad Laodicenses sed Hirunumus eam negat esse Pauli.*" This epistle occupies part of one column ; at the bottom commences the argument of *Pelagius*, to the first epistle to Timothy, which commences at the top of the next page, and ends at the bottom of the first column, of the first page of folio 140 ; where commences the second epistle to Timothy, which ends near the bottom of the second column of the first page of folio 141 ; where is the argument of *Pelagius* to the epistle to Titus, which ends in the second column of the first page of folio 142 ; where commences the epistle to Philemon, with an argument by *Pelagius*, and ends in the next page, where commences the argument to the epistle to the Hebrews, but by whom does not appear. The epistle to the Hebrews occupies from page 143 to 148 inclusive, where is a blank membrane.

Page 150 commences with the epistle of James, without any argument, which ends with folio 151.

Page 152 commences the first epistle of Peter, and ends at folio 153 ; at page 154 commences the second epistle of Peter, which ends

near the top of the second column of the first page of folio 155, when commences the first epistle of John, which ends in the first page of the 157th folio, where commences the second epistle general of John, which ends in the next page, which also includes the third epistle of John. The epistle of Jude occupies the next folio.

The front of folio 159 is blank—at the back is the argument to the Apocalypse, which commences at folio 160, and ends at folio 170.

The Acts of the Apostles commences at folio 171, which ends at the first page of folio 190.

At page 191 commences the first book of the life of St. Martin of Tours, by Sulpicius. The second book of which commences at the second page of folio 200, and the third at page 214, and ends at the second page of folio 219; where commences the epistle of Sulpicius to the Gauls, and ends in next page; where commences an epistle of Severus to Aurelius, which ends in the folio 221, on which is a very singular prayer.

I have been rather prolix in my description

of the MS., my apology is the *great importance of its identity and genuine character*, on which its sole value depends.

In printing I have followed the arrangements of the articles as they stand in the Book of Armagh, although in chronological precedence, the Confessio of St. Patrick is certainly entitled to the first place, as the most antient document, yet it is placed last. The *Summary of Aidus follows the Collections of Tirechan*, and precedes the Confessio, and I conceive his remark on the *doubtful character of the testimony* was intended only to apply to the preceding matter ; he certainly had no doubt of the existence of Patrick, although he could not reconcile the conflicting testimony he found respecting him.

To follow the Confession, I have added a translation of the epistle of Patrick to Coroticus, although that document does not appear in the Book of Armagh, because it bears the marks of being the genuine production of the first Patrick ; its style is the same, it *quotes from the Septuagint*, and, with Sir James Ware, I think every one who reads it will judge it to be the production of the same pen as the Confessio. It supplies valuable testimony on the

subject under consideration, which is not confined to the description of the antient MS. but is an attempt to elucidate those very interesting periods of Irish history.

The documents themselves, suggest the division for the purposes of discussion, which I shall follow, namely, those which refer to the *first Patrick*, and those which relate to *Palladius and the missionaries from Rome of the 5th century*. There are some, however, in which the acts of both are so jumbled together as to render it impossible to separate them. And in order to prevent confusion, I shall, in the remarks hereafter made, apply the name of *Patrick* only to the *apostle of Ireland*, who *first introduced Christianity*, and shall call the missionary of Celestine in 430, and his immediate successors, *Palladius*, or the Roman Patrick.

This is absolutely necessary to the rightly understanding of this intricate subject, which has been hitherto obscured by calling so many individuals by the same name, and attributing to one person, the acts of many living in periods remote from each other ; as the antients confused history by attributing the acts of so many heroes to Hercules. I shall now at-

tempt to unravel this intricate skein, by the simple process of allotting to each his own acts, and fixing the real periods at which they flourished ; for it is only by patiently arranging, and comparing dates, and evidences, supplied in antient writers, with each other, we can ever arrive at the truth of history.

It will be necessary to my purpose, to introduce also, the evidence of other authorities beside the before-mentioned, to prove the existence of Christianity in Ireland, previous to the fifth century, and to illustrate the periods after the mission of Palladius.

In this attempt, I shall, therefore, first proceed to produce and remark upon the evidence of the existence of a pure Christian church in Ireland, previous to the fifth century, and then on the apostle who first introduced Christianity among the Scots.

We have the existence of Christianity, and even of monastic establishments in Ireland, near a century before 432, clearly proved by the venerable, learned, and indefatigable Dr. O'Connor, in his *Prolegomena*, p. lxxviii. He says, " That the institution of monachism

was introduced into Ireland, almost a *whole century* before the coming of St. Patrick, appears by what is stated of *Cælestius*, an Irishman, and the fellow-labourer of *Pelagius*, who, as Gennadius writes, dedicated himself *from his youth to a monastery*. (De Script. Illust. c. 44.) This work is proved by Baronius, Norris, and others, to have been written before the year 493. “For it pleased “the Most High, that St. Athanasius, driven “from Egypt by the Arians, promulgated “about the year 336, the monastic life, which “to this time, had been considered *disgraceful* “in the west by the Scots, Attacotts, and other “barbarians, who laid waste the Roman Empire. Peter, his successor, with the Egyptian monks, the companions of his flight, “brought with them into Europe, the life of “St. Anthony, written by himself, and likewise that of Pachomius. The Romans being “at that time annoyed by the barbarians, had “monachism in such estimation, that many, “influenced by his example, meditated solitude, and Pamachius from a senator, became the first western monk in the first “city.”

That bishops from the *British islands*, were at the council of Sardis, in 347, ap-

pears from the apology of St. Athanasius against the Arians, and St. Chrisostom about the year 388, has these words concerning the British islands:—

“ The *British islands*, (*i. e. Albion and Ierne*) “ situated outside the Mediterranean sea, in the “ ocean, have felt the power of the divine “ word, for there churches are founded, and “ altars erected.” And again, in his discourse on the *advantage of reading the Scriptures*. “ Whether you bring yourself to the ocean, or “ to those *British islands*, or navigate the “ Euxine sea, or go to the south-west regions, “ you will every where hear all people *dis-* “ *cussing philosophically, those things which are* “ *found in the Scriptures*, differing in tongues, “ but *not in faith*.” Likewise, in his homily on the second Epistle to the Corinthians, “ To “ whatever church you shall have entered, “ whether among Moors or in the *British is-* “ *lands*, you will hear John crying out, that it “ *is not lawful for you to have thy brother* “ Philip’s wife.”

It would be easy to collect evidence to the same effect, from the writings of Hilary, Jerome, Theodoretus, and other antient fathers, but I consider quite enough has been cited, to

prove the existence of monachism in the British islands, and consequently in Ireland, as one of them, in the third century.

LET us now proceed to the consideration of two documents of the first importance in the elucidation of the history of Ireland and its antient Church ; in fact, the most *genuine and positive evidences* of the existence of St. Patrick and of the faith he taught. The *Confessio of St. Patrick* and his *Letter to Coroticus*. The first was copied into the Book of Armagh, from the original *in Patrick's own writing, his own autograph!*—and is now published from a MS. nearly twelve hundred years old ; the last from Sir James Ware's, and Dr. O'Connor's publications, which were accurately collated with antient MSS. In them will be found, no arrogant presumption, no spiritual pride, no pretension to superior sanctity, no maledictions of magi, or rivers, because his followers were drowned in them, no veneration for, or adoration of reliques, no consecrated staffs, *or donations of his teeth for reliques*, which occur so frequently in the *lives*, and also in the collections of Tirechan, referring to Palladius, not to Patrick. In these documents appears the pure apostolic Christian minister, the humble devout missionary, anxi-

ous to promote the salvation of his fellow men, imbued indeed with great zeal, and relating facts, which he attributes to the intervention of a *particular providence*, but which, on examination, are to be accounted for by natural causes. It is not necessary, however, to defend our Saint for believing in a *particular providence*, and the intervention of that superintending power, even in common cases, much less, when the important object was *the conversion of a nation*; nor can there be any imputation against him for credulity or fanaticism, for believing one of the most important truth of Christianity. No—Patrick's writings rescue his character from an unmerited stigma; he lived in a pure age, preached a pure faith, and was worthy to be ranked with those truly pious and exemplary characters, the earliest fathers of the Christian Church, the successors of the apostles. Both documents are eloquent and breathe a truly Christian spirit of humility, of piety, and devotedness to the will of God; and, as Dimma says, such an anxiety for *the sanctification of souls*, and so much *love for truth*, as to convince us of his inflexible integrity, and to fix him in the first place of our affectionate regard. I shall not detract from his merit by abridging the *Confessio* farther than in reciting from it what may be

considered the symbol of his faith, which I may boldly assert, differs not from the Church of England :—

“ From which time I could not be silent, nor, indeed, did God cease to bless me with many acts of kindness, and so great was the favour he thought me worthy, in the land of my captivity, this is my retribution, after my rebuking, punishment, and acknowledgment of God, I should exalt him, and confess his wonderful acts before every nation which is under the whole heaven ; because there is no other God, nor ever was before, nor will be after him, except God, the unbegotten father, without beginning, from whom is every beginning, possessing all things, (as we have said,) and his son Jesus Christ, whom we bear witness, was always spiritually with the father ; inexpressibly begotten before all beginning, through whom visible things were made, he became man, and having overcome death, was received into heaven. And he had given to him all power above every name, as well of the inhabitants of heaven, as of the earth, and of the powers below, that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord and God ; whom we believe, and whose coming we expect, as presently about to be judge of the

living and the dead, who will render to every man according to his actions, and has poured upon us abundantly the gift of his holy spirit, and the pledge of immortality—who makes us, who believe and are obedient, to be the sons of God, and joint heirs of Christ, whom we adore one God in the Trinity of the sacred name,”

This venerable document will be perused with delight by every friend to Ireland and to Christianity, and the name of Patrick will be held in due veneration and respect.

“ Its antiquity may be sufficiently proved,” says Sir James Ware, “ by the circumstance of the passages of Scripture being quoted from the *Septuagint version*, not from the more recent version of St. Jerome, *which was not publickly received in St. Patrick’s day.*” It might be questioned whether it proves all Sir James states, who argued upon the supposed period of St. Patrick’s existence, *i. e.* 432. But looking with the lights we now possess, it proves much more, the version of Jerome, *was the received version* at the time of Palladius, but Patrick could know nothing of St. Jerome or his version, having existed long before him; and now that a consistent and true history of this early period is brought to light, and we are able

to distinguish between the *real* and the *pseudo Patrick*, the corroboration of such a document as this is of the first importance.

Patrick says, that he is *imperfect in many points*, and seems fully impressed with the importance and Christian duty of *promulgating truth*; and so apprehensive of exceeding the truth, in what he says of himself, that he premises his declarations with the texts of Scripture, which most condemn those who violate verity. "*Thou shalt destroy them who speak lies.*" "*The mouth which lieth shall lose its life.*" "*For every word which man shall utter, for that shall they render an account in the day of judgment.*" And then proceeds to account for his writing this epistle, which he *had hesitated to do before, lest he should fall under censure for presumption*. I must refer the reader to the document itself, which will well repay the trouble of a perusal. The only additional remark I shall make upon it is, that it is the ground-work on which all the fictitious lives have been built and fabricated. He concludes his statement with a declaration of his sincerity and truth, and unlike the pseudo apostles, declares, that he will not recount his labours, for *it would be tedious*, and that after all he was a great debtor to God.

Compare this simple, this beautiful and unvarnished tale, with the lives of Palladius and his followers, and it will clearly appear to an unprejudiced mind, that they could not relate to the same individual.

There is, however, one passage, so much at variance with the sentiments and feelings exhibited in the other parts of the *Confessio*, as to induce a suspicion of its interpolation, which is that wherein he says, he made a *hundred prayers* in the day, and *as many almost* at night. This savours too much of the feelings and opinions of the seventh century, when the *quantity* and not the *quality* of the prayers began to be considered, and austerity and penance superseded repentance, and the visible and palpable sacrifice of the heathens were substituted, by the grossness and blind ignorance of mankind, for the full and sufficient sacrifice offered once for all.

This paragraph is also particularly at variance with that wherein he says, he will not relate his acts, as it would be tedious and useless, and yet with an unaccountable inconsistency, of which we can scarcely suppose him guilty, he proceeds to relate his making a hundred prayers in a day. It must be a pious

fraud of the transcriber; the same mind which dictated the preceding could never have produced a sentence so full of selfish importance and spiritual pride, and so degrading to his christianity, and so unlike the evident humility of his mind.

The epistle to Coroticus, enables us to form a tolerably correct idea of the *era of St. Patrick*.

Although there can be little doubt, that this epistle, from the internal evidence of its style and language, &c. was the production of the same pen as the Confessio of St. Patrick, yet it is not free from just suspicion of interpolation and corruption. We find the version of the Confessio, derived from the same sources as this epistle, the Cotton and Salisbury MSS. very much added to, and is otherwise erroneous and interpolated, therefore, we may justly have our suspicions of any passages in the letter to Coroticus, which savour of the manufacture of later ages; the document is, however, valuable as historical evidence.

Coroticus is supposed to have been a petty king of Wales, and his name indicates the idea to be correct. *Caradoch* was the

name which the Romans latinized into *Caractacus*, from which Coroticus differs but little. There were many princes of Wales of this name, to one of whom this letter was addressed. He had, it appears, made a predatory excursion to the coast of Ireland, and carried off many Christian converts as prisoners, and sold them to the *heathen Picts and Scots* as slaves. It would appear that Coroticus was a Christian, at least by profession, or the epistle and upbraidings would have been inapplicable.

Patrick, in this also, declares distinctly, that his mission was *from heaven*. "*I declare, I most certainly think I have received what I am from God.*"

The following observations are very remarkable: "With my own hand I have written, and dictated these words to be given and delivered to soldiers that they may be sent to *Coroticus*; *I do not say to my (fellow) citizens*, nor to the pious Roman citizens, but to the *devils citizens*; *apostates*, who on account of their evil doings and hostile acts, in the work of death, are the fit companions of the ensanguined apostate Picts and Scots, who have been ever ready to shed the blood of in-

nocent Christians, whom in numbers I have brought to God." In this passage Patrick speaks of his *fellow-citizens* and *Roman citizens*, evidently speaking of Britain as a *Roman province*. The last Roman legion left Britain about the year 404, consequently, these transactions could not refer to the more advanced period of the fifth century, or to the acts of the missionary of Celestine.

He after says, "*I was free born according to the flesh, my father being a Decurio,*" or captain of ten, in a Roman legion; and adds, that he gave up his nobility and all friends to preach the gospel. In the Confessio, he says, his father was *diaconus*; the transcriber probably made an error by placing the latter for the former word *decurio*, from the original, from which he copied, being defaced, or partly obliterated, a case which every one acquainted with old writings knows, is very common. Calphurnius, however, might have been both a *decurion* and a *deacon*, many instances of soldiers becoming clergymen occurred in the primitive church. It also appears by this, that Patrick was a Roman of the Patrician order; he speaks of his nobility and citizenship, another strong evidence of the period of his existence. He also speaks

of the incursions of the Picts and Scots. Again, he says, "It is the custom of the Roman and Gallic Christians to send pious persons to the Franks and other nations, with money to redeem the baptized captives." This expression is another proof that the period when Patrick wrote, was *before* the foundation of the kingdom of the Franks, under Pharamond in 420, at which time the Franks had established their dominion in Gaul, and the Romans and Gauls no longer sent their messengers to redeem captives from the Franks. It should be observed, that all these occurrences must have taken place before the year 432, and consequently, the writer of the Confessio and the epistle to Coroticus, could not have been sent to Ireland by Celestine in that year. The venerable Bede testifies that, "The Scots *diligently* observed the precepts to be found in the writings of the prophets, the gospels, and the apostles," but they knew nothing of the decrees of the fathers and councils; they were ignorant of any Christianity, but that which was to be found in the sacred volume. The confession of faith of St. Patrick, is in perfect accordance. Colman, the bishop of Lindisfarne, (about the time when Aidus was writing this book of Armagh) told king Oswin, he had received

from his fathers his faith and practice, who were virtuous men, beloved of God ; and that it was the same which was observed by the blessed and highly favoured *St. John*, and the churches founded by him ; which faith prevented Dagamus, the Scottish bishop, from eating, or even residing in the same house, with those bishops whom he considered as wandering from the truth ; this faith also caused Colman and his followers, to give up his bishopric, and their preferment, together with the favour of the royal Oswyn, and all worldly considerations, rather than sacrifice the religious opinions, which they believed to be founded on the rock of scripture authority.

I shall now avail myself of a translation of a fragment of the Brehon Law, by the late learned Irish scholar, Theophilus O'Flanagan, the original of which is amongst the MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. This translation I have obtained by the kindness of a valued friend, to whom it was given by Mr. O'Flanagan himself. It is a dissertation or comment on the laws, as well as the laws themselves, in question and answer ; and is as follows :—

Q. “ What are the three fundamental ordi-

nances, from which neither law, nor judgment, nor reason, nor philosophers, can absolve?"

A. "The holy communion as contained in the holy Scriptures.

"Tribute, sanctioned by three courses of old law, for preserving the stretch of old memory.

"The regeneration of life by water, by which freedom from original sin is secured."

Mr. O'Flanagan gives the following note on this passage. "Will any one deny this to be the Protestant religion? The antient Irish mention but *two sacraments* as necessary, viz. *the holy communion as contained in the holy Scriptures, and the regeneration of life by water, whereby freedom from original sin is secured : (i. e.) Baptism and the Lord's Supper.* These are the two great lessons inculcated by the statute, with which is, I may say, incorporated obedience to law and government. Blush, England, who would stigmatize Ireland as the asylum of superstition, bigotry, and barbarism, to which you first gave birth, in the land of saints, wisdom, liberty, and learning."

I cannot help feeling strongly, a participation in the generous burst of indignation of the patriotic and learned Irishman; if England did not first give birth to superstition, and its curses in Ireland, she certainly was the willing instrument to secure their sway. The Roman see never completed its conquest over the Irish church, till it received the aid of the English sword, although by its secret and open agents it had for centuries been sapping its purity.

Let us now proceed to examine and remark upon the life of St. Patrick, the collections of Tirechan, and the other documents contained in the book of Armagh, which refer to (the second Patrick) Palladius and his successors.

I should not have considered *the life of St. Patrick* worthy consideration, if it stood alone, but, occupying a place in the collections of Aidus, and being of such high antiquity as the seventh century, I might perhaps be charged with suppression, if I omitted its insertion, and, although an evident fabrication, still it is important that the public should be in possession of it.

It is substantially the same as Colgan's 2d,

3d, 4th, and 5th lives ; some of its stories are to be found in the collections of Tirechan. This apology is necessary, lest my readers should turn from the detail with something like disgust. As evidence, it is not without interest, and, coupled with the caution of Aidus, very valuable results may be drawn from it.

The *Dicta Sancti Patricii*, or sayings of *St Patrick*, which immediately follow the life, (p. 346,) contain in them strong evidence that the Patrick of the Roman Church, was altogether a *different and distinct* personage from the *original apostle* of Ireland. They shew clearly that these were sayings of an individual sent by the Roman see, to bring the Irish church under Roman subjection: here we have it in *express terms* :—

“ FOR AN AGE, God be thanked, you (the missionary clergy) have been calling upon the churches of the Scots to enter paradise in *union with the Roman Church, so that, as Christians, they might unite with you in the same service as the Romans.*

“ It behoves all the churches which *follow*

“ *me* to use that very praiseworthy sentence,
“ *Curie Lesson, Christe Lesson*, for all
“ churches should sing *Cyrie lesson, Christe*
“ *lesson, Deo gratias.*”

These sentences could not be the sayings of the first Patrick, for they suppose the churches spoken of, to hold a *different practice* from the individual who speaks, and that *for an age*. This is direct evidence, and scarcely requires comment, shewing a *second Patrick* usurping the name and office of the real apostle.

Bergomas and Sigebertus give us an elucidation of this, and enables us to say who the Patrick was, whose sayings are here set forth to influence the Irish Scots; and in the *Chronicon Belgicum* of Ferreolus Locrius, under the year 590, is the following passage :

“ Saint Gregory was the first of the Roman pontiffs, who inscribed himself “ *servus servorum Dei*,” *servant of the servants of God*. He also decreed that no man, *having two wives*, should receive the holy orders of priesthood : whence arose the common adage—

“ Holy orders shall not be given to any bigamist.

“ Also, that women should not be admitted into the cells of monks, or become godmothers of the same.

“ To the fast of forty days, he added the four days prior, beginning from the fourth day.

“ He ordained that the mass should commence with a verse of certain psalms.

“ Also that *Kyrie eleison* should be said nine times, and Alleluya, and the Offertory, and the Lord’s prayer, should be sung after the Communion, and that in the beginning of all canonical hours, *Deus in adjutorium meum intende*, with glory be to the Father and to the Son, &c. should be said.”*

* Sanctus Gregorius, primus omnium Pontificum Romanorum, se “*Servum Servorum Dei*” inscribit; Idem lege cavet ut nullus bigamus sacro Presbyterii ordine iniret unde vulgatum illud.

Ordo sacer non detur ei, si quis bigamus sit.

Item, ne mulieres monachorum cenobia ingrediantur, aut eorundem commatres fiant.

Quadragesimali jejunio, quatuor priores dies, ab feria quarta inchoantes, adjunxit.

Introitum missæ, cum uno alicujus Psalmi articulo ordinavit.

Item ut novies *Kyrie eleison* diceretur, alleluya et offertorium, et oratio dominica, et post communionem caneretur;

Tirechan says his information was derived from the mouth or book of his master Ultan, *bishop of Connor*. By Usher, and Sir James Ware, this Ultan is called bishop of *Meath*, or *Ardracchan*; but Tirechan distinctly calls him *Episcopus Conchuburnenses*.* In Ultan's book, he says he found Patrick had four names, *Magonius*, *Succetus*, *Cothirthac*, and *Patrick*; and after mentioning a few facts, which occur in the Confessio, and in his life, he proceeds to recapitulate "*his later miracles, accomplished after the second year of Loigaire's reign.*"

This is important: Loigaire became king A. D. 428, and his second year, 430, was the *very year Palladius* was sent by Celestine to the Scots. Here is a reference to *former acts* of Patrick—miracles performed by a Patrick *before the mission of Palladius!!!* The acts mentioned by Tirechan, we are told, are *his later acts*, performed *after* the second year of Loigaire, (i. e.) 430, a palpable and dis-

alque in principio omnium horarum canonicarum "*Deus in adiutorium meum intende cum gloria Patri &c. dicatur. Ber-gamas Sigebertus.*

* Surnames were unknown when Tirechan lived, consequently Usher must be in error when he supposes him to be called *Conchuburnensis*, because he was of the family of the O'Conors, who did then bear that name.

tinct admission and declaration of Tirechan, that there was a former Patrick, who, *before the year 430*, had performed certain acts, or at least those acts had been attributed to him, and that the acts or miracles which he had heard or obtained from Ultan, were his *later acts*. Then follows a further corroboration, for he tells us that Palladius himself, Pope Celestine's legate, or nuncio, was *also called by the name of Patrick, (qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur.)** Thus identifying the commencement of the *later acts* of Patrick, with the exact year of the mission of Palladius, according to Prosper, and proving, what I am convinced was the fact, that the second, or *Roman Patrick*, and *Palladius* were the *same person*.

Can any reason be assigned for this extraordinary fact but one; viz :—That a wise, wily, and politic pope saw the advantage of giving a name to this missionary, which was cherished and venerated by the people to whom he was sent? Patrick was the name of the first apostle of the Scots, of him to whom they were indebted for the first light of the

* Usher de Primordiis p. 890, and Book of Armagh, see Appendix.

Gospel, and that faith to which they were so ardently attached. (page 349.)

“ *From the passion of Christ to the death of Patrick, there were 436 years.*” This would fix the death of Patrick A. D. 470, *twenty three years* before the period usually admitted, viz. A. D. 493 !

“ Loigaire reigned two, or five years, *after the death of Patrick*, and his entire reign is computed by us at 33 years.”

This would fix the period of Patrick’s death A. D. 458, and Loigaire’s in 461. These dates, no doubt, referred to *different individuals* ; every legate of the Roman see was afterwards *called Patrick* ; and when Palladius suffered martyrdom, or was killed by the Scots, for his attempts to overturn their church, another assumed his place.

In this compilation of Tirechan, we shall discover abundant evidence of the existence of a Christian church, *previous to this mission of Palladius* ; and that he had to contend against Loigaire and his people, as a *Christian king and nation*, zealous for their faith, not against heathens, barbarians, and magi. We

shall find that Palladius came attended by a numerous staff, and *an army of missionaries*, by all the paraphernalia of the Roman church, that he was opposed as soon as his objects were ascertained, and eventually "*martyrium passus est apud Scotos*," he suffered martyrdom by the hands of the Scots ; we shall also find, that many of his *foreign followers* were also slain by the Irish, in attempting to introduce the authority and liturgy of their church, at least this is Tirechan's account.

"Patrick, indeed, came with the Gauls to the islands of *Mac Euchar*, the most eastern of which is still called *Patrick's island*, and with him were a multitude of holy bishops, presbyters, deacons, exorcists, hostiarii, and readers, as well as their sons, whom he ordained."

These were the various orders of the Roman Church, and exhibit a picture of pomp and circumstance, very different from the humble tone and Christian humility, to be found in the confession of the original apostle of Ireland.

Patrick consecrated bishops, and ordained priests of the *Franks*; this could have been no other than Palladius, the first Patrick having

lived long before the establishment of the dominion of that people in Gaul. All the conflicting testimony about *the family and country of Patrick*, is now accounted for; Palladius, or one of his successors, was probably *the nephew of Martin of Tours*. The first Patrick was a Briton, or rather *a Roman of Britain*; to suppose him a nephew of Martin of Tours, requires *great faith*, even to remove mountains.

He builds his first church at *Sesenan*, and leaves *his son* there as bishop with the two *foreign boys*. And then a story is told, in which Benignus is represented as *the son of an Irishman of Ailbina*, which evidently shews how much fraud and falsehood pervade all these compilations; for afterwards this very Tirechan tells us that *Mathona, the sister of Benignus, was a foreigner*.

There cannot, I think, be a doubt, that Palladius, or the third Patrick, (if he was succeeded by *another Patrick*, which may be a mere invention, to reconcile the conflicting testimony of Prosper, who mentions no missionary but Palladius, and *says nothing* of his successor *Patrick*) made some impression on the Irish church, so far as to gain over

some converts, or at least, induced the adoption of some Roman observances, for *Tirechan tells us, (p. 353) that “ Hiffertus, of the men of Fiec, was the *first* of the Irish who *burned incense, and carried wax candles ; he first took them* home FROM THE HANDS OF PATRICK, and caused the smoke to ascend, into the eyes of the gentile men, and king Loigaire, and his magicians.”

It is very clear from this passage, that king Loigaire and his people were *not heathens*, or he would not have been annoyed by the holy smoke, but it was necessary to stigmatize them as gentiles and heathens, because to those Christians, who knew no Christianity but what they found in the scripture, wax candles and incense were an abomination.

Palladius was unremitting in his attempts to bring over Loigaire, knowing well that the example of the prince would have an important influence on the people, but it appears, the king was inexorable, and would not adopt the Roman liturgy, but determined to adhere to the pure faith of his fathers ; he, of course, is stigmatized as a *heathen* and *publican*.

Although Loigaire was firm in his determi-

nation, and is declared a heathen, yet it appears Palladius applied to the king for permission to visit the *holy mountain Croagh Egli*, (page 359) and he paid a donation of silver and gold, and also, for *an escort of twelve men* for protection, while on his journey. By this, it would appear, that Loigaire had no very violent desire to *exterminate* these missionaries, or even to meddle with their property, beyond the tribute the laws justified him in demanding. If they possessed gold and silver, and other property, in such abundance, it supposes Loigaire and his people, not to have been the barbarians they wish us to believe them, if they preserved all those tempting effects in perfect security.

This visit to *Croagh Egli*, is a remarkable instance, that on all occasions, the Roman clergy have acted on the policy of using the prejudices and superstitions of nations, by adopting their institutions. This mountain of *Croagh Egli*, now called *Croagh Patrick*, is mentioned by Ptolemy, as a *holy mountain in his day*. The antient *Phenician Irish* held it in great veneration.

There is frequent mention of the foreigners, who were with Palladius ; (p. 360) “some

of *his foreigners* were slain by *Feredach*, the son of Neill, whom Patrick cursed," &c. This *Feredach* was the brother of the king, and it appears either disregarded the curses, or they were not *loud but deep*. Palladius placed an *altar of stone*, (p.364) this custom also was new to the Irish Christians.

Palladius brought with him tradesmen as well as clergymen, (p. 365) *Assicus*, whom he afterwards made a bishop, was a worker in brass, and made "*altars for Patrick*," and also *cases for books*, and *patina*, or salvers, for the sacrament.

In many places, *Tirechan* speaks of the *monks of Patrick*, and the *monks of Columbkil*, (page 375,) and the *priests of Patrick*, which shews the distinction made between those monks and priests which followed the Roman ritual of Palladius, and the *antient clergy*. *Columbkil*, we know from *Bede*, was of the antient church, as was *Dagamus*, *Aidan*, and *Colman*, and the greater part of the Irish people, although the Romish writers think right, to claim them as their own.

The alledged conversation between Patrick and the daughters of *Loigaire*, is clearly

a fabrication, and shews also what object Palladius had in view, in this missionary invasion of Ireland. (p. 370)

“ Do you believe the *unity of the church* ? ”

Would such a question be put to a heathen, who must be totally ignorant of its meaning ?

“ *And they accepted the mass (or liturgy) of Patrick.* ” (p. 372.) This passage distinctly infers, that the people or priests of *Achad Foboir*, had been Christians, but now consented to *adopt the mass*, in lieu of their ancient formula ; it cannot be interpreted that they became Christians, because, had that been the case, no such addition would have been necessary.

It appears from the whole of the testimony of Tirechan, and the others, that this Palladius, or Patrick, travelled through Ireland *in his chariot*, with great consequence, circumstance, and importance, conquering and to conquer. And on his arrival at *Croagh Egli*, his charioteer died, and was buried naked, and that he adopted the custom of the *heathen Scots*, by collecting stones, to make a *cairn* to his memory, and said, “ *Let this be so for ever, and let it be visited even to the remotest ages.* ” Thus

setting on foot a pilgrimage to the tomb of a man who had no other merit, at least none is mentioned, than being his charioteer. We are then told of his *fasting forty days and nights*, after *the example* of Moses, Helias, and Christ!!!

“Here a tooth of Patrick fell out, and he gave it to Bronus *for a relic*.” (p. 380.) A tooth is still preserved, at Cong, in a splendid case. This was a pretty specimen of the modest and unpresuming minister of the gospel. *He canonizes himself*, and gives his *own tooth* as a relique.

We are again told of his *cursing a magician*, who, of course, was destroyed, and also a river, in which there never afterwards were any fish.

“In that place *a certain bishop came to him*.” This is also evidence of bishops in Ireland, before this second Patrick. He passed seven years in Connaught.

It appears also, that Palladius brought with him all the *armour of the Roman see*, for we are told (p. 383.) that he gave Olcanus

certain *reliques of Peter and Paul and the other apostles.*

“ He ordained the boy *Auxilius, the exorcist of Patrick.*” This Auxilius was one of those whom Palladius brought with him from Rome.

There appears the greatest confusion of dates as to Patrick’s coming, in (p. 387.) is the following passage :—

“ In the thirteenth year of Theodosius, the Emperor, Patrick, the Bishop, was sent by Bishop Celestine, Pope of Rome, &c.”

This would give the date of A. D. 421, for Theodosius became emperor in 408, and consequently the thirteenth of his reign would be 421. Bede says he succeeded Honorius in 423, and that in his eighth year Palladius was sent, which gives 431 ; so says Prosper.

“ Palladius the bishop, was first sent, *who is otherwise called Patrick*, who suffered martyrdom among the Scots, as the antient saints relate. *Then the second Patrick* was sent by an angel of God named Victor, AND BY POPE CELESTINE.”

Although I have remarked elsewhere on this passage it may not be amiss to notice here, the extraordinary fact, that *Palladius* was also called *Patrick!!!* and that after his death, *another Patrick* succeeded him, who was probably *second* in command of this army of missionaries, and on the death of *Palladius* assumed the *Patrician* dignity as *chief of the mission*. This is, indeed, asserted by Dr. Lannigan to be the fact. It is true the angel *Victor* is brought in, as *auxiliary to the pope*, a necessary precaution, as the mission of the *real Patrick*, was from heaven, *in a dream*, in which appeared to him *a man*, named *Victoricius*; the pretensions of this *third Patrick* would have suffered much, if this incident, so strikingly mentioned in the *Confessio*, had been omitted, nor would the likeness have been *sufficiently strong* to impose upon the most simple; as it was, *Aidus*, and the Irish church and people, saw through it, and declared it contrary to their traditions and to the truth.

(P. 394) “ Colman the bishop, *offered his church of Cluaincain, in Achud, to Patrick the bishop, as a votive offering for ever, and commended him to the holy men, the priests Medb and Sadb.*”

This Colman *was a bishop* of the antient church, who deserted his faith, and went over to Palladius. Here we have *further evidence* of christians, priests, and even bishops, *before the Roman Patrick*, which clearly shews the mission of Palladius to have been to *bring over Christians to Rome, not to convert heathens*. This Colman not only adopted the Romish ritual, but *commended Palladius* to two other priests.

In page 395, is another strong piece of evidence that Palladius found Christians differing with the Roman church :—

“ St. Patrick foreseeing through the Holy Spirit that his congregations in Kerry were much dispersed ; that is, bishop *Sachellus*, *Brocidus*, and *Loarnus*, and the priests *Medb* and *Ernas*, he joined them, as well in the unity of eternal peace, *as in one ceremony of faith*, under the sole authority of the successor in his apostolic chair at *Altimacha*.” This priest *Medb*, was one of those to whom he had been commended by bishop Colman.

(P. 397) “ To Cummin belonged half the profits of the doors of the church of these

inclosures, where they brought their gifts, viz. *three ingots, or ounces, of silver, a bar of silver, and a collar, three ounces of old gold of the dishes of their ancestors, &c. &c.*

It will not be denied, that this passage shews a considerable advancement in civilization.

It appears that the spiritual superintendance over this property of Cummin, was in a bishop, called *Colman of the Britons*, possibly the same virtuous bishop mentioned by Bede, who so nobly sacrificed his worldly interests to his respect for, and attachment to truth.

“Some people sinned by falling into contempt of Patrick, so that *Cathbhadh* and *Iserninus* were despised by them.” (p. 399) Here is evidence of the doctrines of the Romans, *being despised*; a few sentences after it appears, that this Iserninus and his monks submitted to Patrick, for his and for their faults. And Patrick gave them to bishop Fiech and to the sons of Cathbhad, who took possession of a *portion of Athfetho*. Here is another instance of Palladius, on the submission of the Scots monks placing a bishop over them.

The account of the consecration of Fiach Finn is curious. Dubhthach is requested to choose a bishop, to be left at Lis Patrick. He answers, I will choose *a man with but one wife*, &c. And when he brought him to Palladius, it is added, that he *baptized him*, and *gave him the degree of a holy bishop*, and he gave him a present of a *bell, a mitre, a crozier, and a cloak* (pallium*,) and left him *seven* of his people. It cannot be supposed this Fiech was baptized and made bishop by the same operation, which seems to be inferred here; but there is no accounting for miracles.

There appears through the whole of this detail, an anxious wish to impress the necessity and duty of *obeying Patrick*, i. e. the *Roman Church*, for Fiech is made to *tell the angel*, that he would not obey even him, the messenger of heaven, if Patrick should not direct him to do so.

The last paragraph of Aidus is very curious in many respects; first, as to this MS.—se-

* This word is applied to *the veil*, as taken by a female, and means nothing more here than a cloak, not a *pall*, as now understood.

condly, as to himself—and lastly, as to the light it throws on the Irish church of the 7th century.

1st. As to the MS. It says, “Aidus sent the collection of instruction (or this Book) to Segenius, then archbishop of Armagh, who desired him to (*change his instruction*) *alter it.*” The summary, probably, did not go the length Segenius required; but Aidus said, “*he dedicated his instruction, and his people, and his church to PATRICK for ever.*” Aidus left his instruction with Conchad.*

The MS. was thus written and placed in the hands of the bishop of Armagh, and continued, as before stated, in those of his successors; and thus its origin, custody, and history are clearly and satisfactorily accounted for.

With respect to Aidus and the Irish church, in the 7th century, this entry proves the important fact, that he (Aidus) was the first of the Bishops of Slepten who sent in his *adhesion*, to use a Gallicism, to the Church of

* See a fac simile of the original Irish of this passage, plate xii. No. 2.

Rome, and was one of those Irish Bishops mentioned by Bede, who about this time adopted the Roman observances.

THE SUMMARY OF AIDUS.

We now come to a document of paramount importance in this inquiry, compared to which all others, although strong and convincing, are indeed but slight evidence ; from them inferences, and strong ones, may be drawn, and fair and just conclusions may be elicited ; from them we may justly conclude certain events to have taken place, by way of *vis consequentiæ* ; but here we are supplied with *positive evidence*, demonstration, and that of the clearest and most unquestionable character, which cannot be gainsayed. Here we have an *Irish bishop* of the seventh century, shortly before he adopted the formula of the church of Rome entering into an investigation of the pretensions of that church, and the history of St. Patrick, evidently for the purpose of justifying the step he afterwards took ; and what does he say ? That many people had endeavoured to relate to him what they had heard from their fathers about the story of St. Patrick, as transmitted

to them, but “ *on account of the divers opinions and suspicions of most people, and the great difficulty of ascertaining the true narrative, they have never attained in this matter any certain track or path of history.*”

He farther, after a little flourish of his learning, does not even pretend to have ascertained the true history—for he says, “ *If it can be said, that I have brought down the narrative;*” and afterwards concludes most remarkably, by almost declaring his utter disbelief in the corrupted and fictitious history; stating, that he charitably made allowances, but still, with reluctance, selected a few acts which he thought might be true. *His knowledge being small, his authors doubtful, his memory treacherous, and what was the worst of all, the common tradition of the country having failed to support the story.* I shall only observe here on a few of those selected by Aidus, which are a strange mixture of contradictions. The fifth and sixth states, that St. Patrick contemplated going to visit the apostolic see, where he wished to learn wisdom, but that he found holy men in Gaul, and therefore went no further. The seventh mentions his mission from an angel to come and preach the gospel in Ireland, which is followed by two con-

fused paragraphs, about the ordination and death of Palladius, and the ordination of Patrick *by king Amatho, Palladius being dead.*

He speaks of the *fable of Daire* and other matters, which are not necessary to be here recapitulated, or further noticed.

THE BOOK OF THE ANGEL.

This is a strange admixture of the old traditions of the Irish, and the inventions of the seventh century, evidently made up to serve a purpose, but it is replete with important evidence; it declares throughout, that Patriok's commission was *from above*, that he was to be *ranked with Peter and Paul, and the chief martyrs*; that all his authority was derived immediately *from heaven*; that the city of Armagh, was an apostolic city; and that the primate and his successor should preside over all the churches of the Scots, even by *the most exalted authority*. That it was not lawful, *by reason of this authority*, for any prelate, abbot, or other person of the Scots, to appeal from his decision. That in all cases, where any person should commit any offence against the church, the

primate should decide, the other judges being passed by; and if any case should arise too difficult for the judges, *it ought properly to be referred to the primate.*

At the end of this book is the following passage:—

“ But if in such a case it cannot be decided by their own wise men, *we* decree that the before mentioned cause shall be transmitted to the apostolic chair, that is, to the chair of authority of the *apostle Peter at the city of Rome.*”

“ Those are the persons who have decreed thus, that is, *Auxilius, Patrick, Secundinus, and Benignus.* After the death of Patrick, his disciples collected an account of his works and wrote them down.”

Having, I trust, clearly and satisfactorily shewn that Patrick, the genuine apostle of Ireland, flourished long before the fifth century; I shall now endeavour to account for the errors on the subject, which have so long prevailed, by a brief review of the period from the mission of Palladius in 430, to that of Aidus, or the writing of the Book of Armagh,

between the year 661 and 688. For although it appears clear from the life of Patrick, and the collections of Tirechan in the book of Armagh, that the transactions related in them, *if true*, refer not to Patrick, but to Palladius and his successors, yet I am rather inclined to consider them, or the greater part of them, if not absolute fictions, the exaggerations of the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh centuries.

Palladius was sent to extirpate the Pelagian heresy, which had gained an ascendancy in the Irish church. At that period the Roman church had not avowed the peculiar doctrines which were adopted in the succeeding ages ; nor was it till Boniface assumed the title of universal bishop, that the pretensions of the church of Rome were fully developed. The chief causes of separation between those congregations, which had been established by Palladius, and the antient Scottish church, were the veneration for reliques, the period of keeping Easter, the tonsure, and the variation of church government. That these congregations continued to exist in Ireland, separate from the national church is very clear from the two letters of Gregory, published by archbishop Usher in his "*Veterum Epistola-*

rum Hibernicarum Sylloge, Dublin 1632." The first, written A. D. 592, is addressed as follows :—" *Gregory, to all the bishops throughout Ireland.*" In it, he says, he was much rejoiced at the receipt of their letter ; but that he should be *more gratified* if he had an *opportunity of rejoicing in their return* ; and again, " *let the integrity of your faith, at length, bring back your love for your mother church, which generated you : let not your minds be dis-united from the unity of concord &c.*" It appears also that the Scottish church had complained of certain *violations or alterations of the faith* by the Roman church, which induces Gregory, to observe that in the synod, in which the subject of the *Tria Capitula* was treated of, it appeared manifest that *nothing relative to the faith was torn away or even changed*. And he strongly puts forth the doctrine of obedience, saying, " *it does not become us, nor others, who are appointed under the mysteries of the catholic faith, either to say so (i. e. to question the decree of the synod,) or to alledge it in any manner.*" He then talks of having sent them the book written by his predecessor, Pope Pelagius, which he enjoins them to read, and to submit by *laying aside all self-willed defence, to return to our unity* ; and tells them that their conduct, if they persist in their opposition,

after reading, will manifest an *unbecoming obstinacy*. Here we have the beginning of those exertions to bring the Scottish church to subjection, alluded to by Bede, and the strongest testimony that that church had not the same faith or observances as the Roman in 592, even that of *the Pope himself*; and it is not a little singular, that Gregory charges them with being over nice, by objecting to the three chapters, *as deviations from the faith*.

The next letter of Gregory, written in the year 601, clearly shews the *difference* between the Scottish *national church*, and that which the missionaries of Rome, had been able to establish in Ireland, by *making the distinction*. It is directed "*to Quirinus and the rest of the CATHOLIC BISHOPS IN IRELAND*," and in it there is no complaint of deviation from the Roman observances, no *invitations to return*; but they are treated as altogether faithful and obedient. That this Quirinus was an Italian is evident from his name, and he was of course a recent missionary.

As the means of obtaining, first a uniformity or conformity of liturgy, and afterwards a spiritual sovereignty over the Irish church; it appears to have been part of the

policy of the Roman missionaries, to fabricate the senseless and absurd fictions attributed to Fiech, Probus, Benignus, the second Patrick, and others; which, in fact, are nothing more than versions of St. Patrick's Confessio, enlarged and corrupted, by different hands, and called *lives*. The Confessio, published by Sir James Ware, and lately by Dr. O'Connor, is an example of this. It contains nearly *twice the matter* found in the Confessio of the Book of Armagh, which Aidus tells us was copied from the saint's own hand-writing; and among other interpolations, the following very remarkable passage:—" *Et una benedicta Scotta, genetiva nobilis pulcherrima adulta erat quam ego baptizavi.*" This evidently was inserted to favour or establish the story of St. Bridget, which is altogether a fiction, as far as the *first Patrick* is concerned. It is also to be observed, that the Book of Armagh is the *only Irish authority*; of the three others, mentioned by Sir James Ware and Dr. O'Connor, one is from the Cotton library, by an anonymous writer, mixed up with the lives of Roman saints; the two others are in the library of the cathedral of Salisbury, and all are of about the same age, namely, the tenth or eleventh centuries.

Compare all these facts with what Bede tells us took place in the seventh and eighth centuries, of the active and unremitting exertions of the Roman church and clergy, *to bring the Scots to uniformity with the universal church*, because they were very unecclesiastical *in many respects*; and also, what Aidus tells us, in his summary, that in his day, (the middle of the seventh century,) the *common tradition* of Ireland was against the written lives of Patrick, which he had collected; and the conclusion must be obvious.

Segene, Segian, or Segenius, to whom Aidus dedicated *his instruction*, &c. succeeded Thomian in the see of Armagh, in the year 661, and died in 688. Pope John, in A. D. 634, addressed to Thomian, as head of the Scottish clergy, the letter quoted from venerable Bede, (p. 64) in which this Segian is the last mentioned of the priests, being then a young man. Thomian, or Segene, was the first of the bishops of Armagh who adopted the Romish manner of keeping Easter, and the other peculiarities in which the Scots had hitherto differed. Having gained the primate, eventually the rest of the bishops and clergy were brought over. Pope John, in this letter

charges the Irish clergy with *an old heresy for refusing his Easter*, consequently, to this period, their practice was different from the Roman. Segenius, it appears entered into the Roman cause with zeal, and promoted it with energy, not being very particular as to the means. Aidus tells us, that he wished him to *change his instruction, i. e. to make it more consistent with the new fangled stories, promulgated a short time before, for the purpose of persuading the Scots, that Palladius, or the Roman missionary of 430, was the same person as their venerated Patrick*. This Aidus would not, or did not, accede to, but declared it to be inconsistent with the received traditions of his countrymen, and that most people held a *different opinion and suspected the fraud*. Still it appears, bishop Aidus was prevailed on to submit to the authority of the pope, under the name of Patrick. Bede says, pope John warned the Scots of the Pelagian heresy, which he understood was springing up amongst them. In the heads of the books in the version of the New Testament, in the Book of Armagh, written by Aidus, we find the *name of Pelagius* fixed, as the author of the expositions and explanations. These corroborations are very striking and satisfactory, and clearly shew, that the name of Patrick was assumed, and made use

of at this period, *to subvert the church and faith he had established.* Prosper does not mention Patrick, because he never heard of him, nor should we have ever had his name handed down to us, but that it accorded with the policy of the Roman church to adopt him into their calendar, and to claim him as their own; by affixing, near two centuries after his death, that name to their own missionaries. I shall not waste farther argument to prove a fact, which the whole tenor of the existing evidence demonstrates.

COLGAN'S LIVES.

Besides fragments, Colgan published seven lives of St. Patrick, of which the sixth and seventh being of comparatively recent compilation, made up from the others, and spiced higher, to suit them to the taste of the age for which they were written, I shall therefore pass them by without further notice.

Of the others, the first is the hymn or metrical version, attributed to Fiech.

The second is attributed to St. Patrick, ju-

nior, the disciple of the alledged Patrick, and is taken from a MS. in the *monastery of St. Hubert, in Ardvenna.*

The third is attributed to Benignus, also a disciple of the alledged Patrick, and is copied from an antient MS., *at Biburgh, in Bavaria*, and was communicated to Colgan, by Stephen White, a Jesuit, a most zealous investigator of antiquity. Colgan says it agrees with the preceding life, in the first eleven chapters, *but differs much in all the rest.*

The fourth life is attributed to *St. Eleran, the wise*, and is given from a *vellum* MS., of the monastery *Alnensis*, where it appears there were two MS. lives of St. Patricks, from one of which he gave this fourth life, the other agreeing generally with that of the monastery of St. Hubert, called the second life, by Colgan.

The fifth life had the following singular title:—

“ B. Patricii primi predicatoris et episcopi *totius Britannicæ*, vita et actus. Authore Probo.”

“The life and acts of St. Patrick, the first preacher and bishop of *all Britain*. By *Probus*.”

Who Probus was, appears a difficulty not to be solved. Some writers say he flourished in the year 260!!! Usher thought he was an Irishman, and others fix him to the seventh century, viz. A. D. 646; but the opinion of Colgan himself is, that he lived in the beginning of the tenth century.

This life agrees in substance, but not in language, with the preceding, with, however, the addition of some few absurdities. He talks of St. Patrick baptizing the people of *Scotia, Britain, England, and Normandy!!!* which settles the point of his antiquity, and proves him to have been a clumsy fabricator. As before stated, these lives are all but versions of St. Patrick's Confessio, corrupted and enlarged.

That Palladius, and his followers, succeeded in forming congregations, and founding many churches and monasteries in Ireland, and that the church established by them, continued separate and distinct, is, I think, very clear;

but that Palladius, or any of his immediate successors, never bore the name of Patrick, *while they lived*, is equally so. This name was given them in the beginning of the seventh century, in accordance with the policy of the Roman church, to obliterate, in the Scots, the recollection of their venerated apostle, and to transfer their affections to the Roman church, by giving *his* name to *their* missionary. In this they, eventually, completely succeeded, but it required centuries to accomplish it. Aidus tells us, that in his day, the people did not believe it.

I shall not fatigue the reader by accumulating testimony, or bringing forward more evidence to establish the facts under consideration, as enough, in my humble judgment, has been adduced to satisfy any unprejudiced mind; but there is one more fact to be found in the Annals of the Four Masters, and the other chronicles of Ireland, which is so very remarkable, and so unaccountable, that I cannot pass it by without observation, and with it I shall conclude.—It is, that, at *the request of Patrick*, in the year 438, a committee of three kings, three saints, and three historians, were appointed to *purify* the Irish annals, and to make them conformable to the no-

tions of the Roman Patrick, who was one of the saints. In other words *to corrupt* the records of the country ; and, as they had usurped the name of Patrick, to prevent detection, by altering and interpolating those documents which would expose the fraud. The *Annals of the Four Masters* give it thus in Doctor O'Connor's translation :—

“ The year of Christ 438, the tenth year of Loigaire. The histories and laws of Ireland were purified, and copied from written collections, and compiled from the old books of Ireland, into one place, by the desire of St. Patrick. These are the nine wise authors who there did it. Loigaire, that is the king of Ireland, Corccus, and Daire, three kings ; Patrick, Benignus and Cairnechus, three saints ; Ros, Dubthacus, and Fergus, three historians.”

This singular passage, no doubt, refers to the *expurgation* of the histories of Ireland, to make them accord with the declarations of those who wished to impose the *missionary of Celestine* on the Scottish nation as the *real Patrick* ; without this *purgation* the object never could have been accomplished. Aidus tells us that, *in his day*, the tradition of the country continued to support the original true

history; it is therefore probable, this spoliation and vitiation of Irish history, was the work of the early part of the seventh century. It is altogether improbable, that Loigaire, who is represented as a heathen to his death, would have joined Palladius in such a work. It is too gross a fabrication for the belief of a rational mind.

I have had the assistance of my friend, Mr. Edward O'Reily, in the translation of the Irish, who declares it to be certainly the oldest dialect of the language he has ever seen. I have given a fac-simile of the passage, a translation of which may be found in page 401, beginning "*Aidus, &c.*" and the original in modern Irish in the appendix. (See plate XII. No. 2.)

In the 48th verse of the 27th chapter of the gospel of St. Matthew, this version has the same peculiarity as Dimma's, remarked upon in the note of p. 46, containing the extract from Dr. H. M. Mason's Essay; in which last, however, there is an error of language. The words in Dimma's MS. are "*Alius autem accepta* lancea pupungit latus ejus et exivit*

* Not *capta*.

aqua et sanguis. Jesus autem iterum clamans voce magna emisit spiritum, et ecce velum templi, &c.” At this part is this side note “*Hic auctores canunt* ИАТН РОСТЕР,” which is repeated in the gospel of St. Mark, where the same passage occurs. At the end of the gospel of St. John is the following entry :—

“ *Finita sunt Evangelia numero quatuor Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Johannes.*”

Matheus versus habet	MMDCC.
Marcus	MDCC.
Lucas	MMDCCCC.
Johannis	MMCCC.
Et facit totum ..	MMMMMMMMMCCCC.”

The total is erroneously calculated, it should be 9600 verses.

The prologues of Pelagius on the epistles of St. Paul, are very interesting documents, they are the production of an individual of whom we know but little, except through the writings of his adversaries, who, although they condemn his opinions, admit him to have been blameless in his life and conversation.—This singular character was the only native of Britain, who made any considerable figure in the early ages of the church, and with

his friend and companion Celestius, an Irish Scot, were the earliest natives of these islands who ventured opinions in opposition to those of the eastern fathers. However erroneous may have been those opinions, they were men of great learning, acute judgment, and piety, and as such, their country may be gratified at having produced them.

It appears probable that they retired to Ireland, after their condemnation, at Rome, in 415, and brought with them the version of St. Jerome, of which this is very similar in its language, though it differs in many important particulars. It is certain the antient Irish church considered him orthodox, or they would not have affixed his expositions to the New Testament. The arrangement of the books is different, and the epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans is inserted, but Pelagius remarks in the argument, that Jerome denies it to be written by Paul.

The disputed seventh verse of the fifth chapter of the first epistle of St. John, respecting the heavenly witnesses, "*For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one,*" is omitted in this version.

The variation of the Lord's Prayer is also remarkable *ne patiaris*, &c. "*do not suffer us to be led into temptation*," which certainly appears to be more consistent than the common accepted rendering.

There are many other important variations from the vulgate, the discussion of which, even if I thought myself competent to the task, which I do not, would be foreign to my object. I shall, therefore conclude, with expressing a hope, that some learned and acute scholar will undertake the task of collating this valuable and singularly interesting version, which appears to promise, at least, to repay well the labour expended upon it.

I have not considered it necessary to enlarge upon, or to use argument to prove the antiquity of the book of Armagh, it contains evidence, within itself, of its age, which not only renders discussion on the subject unnecessary, but supplies us with sure data, whereby we may form a more accurate judgment of the age of other MSS. In discussing the subject of the introduction of writing into Ireland, which I contemplate hereafter, I trust I shall be able to shew that little dependance is to be placed in the opinions and dicta of Astle, and

other English writers, who have generally treated the pretensions of Ireland, to a state at all above barbarism, with a most unaccountable carelessness, bordering on contempt. They have laid it down as a point not to be questioned, that Ireland *was ever* a barbarous nation; and, therefore, that investigation and inquiry into the subject are not only useless and unnecessary, but that any one venturing the task would deserve the united ridicule and contempt of the learned.

The Irish, while they fondly cherished the object, for the establishment of which this long-continued train of falsehood and deceit was contrived and carried on, have always adhered to the tradition of the learning, civilization, and greatness of their ancestors, but in total ignorance that the cause of their humiliation was the papal power and religion, which, from its first introduction by Palladius, gradually sapped, and eventually destroyed, the religion of the Irish nation, by turning their attention from the substance to a shadow, checking inquiry, and shackling the human intellect.

The following translations I have rendered as literal as I possibly could. It should, how-

ever, be recollected, that the Latin is very obscure, and the meaning of many passages, of necessity, must be guessed from their context and other circumstances. I think, however, there are very few passages in which the meaning has been mistaken; the substance is given, not indeed with elegance of language, but with fidelity; it was considered in the light of *evidence*, and, if the true meaning of a passage was obtained, I was not solicitous about its diction. In page 331, the fifth line from the top, the words *Christi annorum* baffled me. After it was printed, I saw, and wondered how it escaped, that it should have been one word, *Christianorum*, "*of the Christians.*" I do not, however, think it an error of sufficient importance to cancel the page for it.

I beg leave, in this place, to express my grateful acknowledgments to his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, through whose kindness and condescension I first became acquainted with the existence of the Book of Armagh, and obtained permission to investigate its contents, and lay them before the public.

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

LIFE OF S. PATRICK.

* * * * *
he being placed in slavery in Ireland,* said; that he was visited by frequent visions, saying to him that the time was at hand, when he should come and preach the Gospel to these savage and barbarous nations; that God had sent him to fish there for men, and it was told him, in a vision, that their sons and daughters at the wood of *Foclisia* called for him, &c.

In due time, therefore, accompanied by divine assistance, he set out upon his journey, to accomplish that, for which he was before prepared—to preach the Gospel; and Germanus, moved by the Holy Spirit, sent an elder with him, that is, Segitius, that he might have a companion and witness, because he was not as yet ordained by the holy lord Germanus in the pontifical degree.

* The first membrane of the MS. having been lost, renders this sentence obscure and imperfect.

For it was true that *Palladius*, archdeacon of Pope *Celestine*, bishop of the city of Rome, who then held the apostolic chair, the forty-fifth from Saint Peter, the apostle, was ordained and sent to this island; placed under the winter's cold, to convert them, but he forbid him to receive oblations,* because no one can receive any land, unless it were given him from heaven. For neither did those rude and savage people readily receive his doctrine, nor did he wish to pass his time in a land, not in his own,† but returning hence, to him who sent him, having begun his passage, the first tide, little of his journey being accomplished, he died in the British dominions.‡

The death of *S. Palladius*, among the Britons, was soon heard of, for his disciples that is, *Augustinus* and *Benedictus*, and the rest, returning, related in *Ebmoria* the circumstance of his death.§

* To receive grants of land.

† Celestine sends Palladius, and yet *forbids him* to do the work for which he was sent!!

‡ Tirechan, says Palladius, suffered martyrdom *among the Scots*.

§ The *disciples* of Palladius returned to Ireland, and brought the news of his death.

Patrick, and those who were with him, having declined the journey, went to a certain man, an illustrious priest and king, *Amathus*, living in a neighbouring place. Saint Patrick knowing *what events would occur, received there the episcopal degree from Matho, the holy king and bishop,** likewise *Auxilius*, and *Iserninus*, and others, received inferior degrees on the same day on which Patrick was ordained.

Then, having received the blessings, and every thing being accomplished according to custom, Patrick, having sung, as was becoming and proper, a verse of the following psalm: "Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of *Melchisedec*," the venerable traveller embarked in a vessel prepared for him, in the name of the holy trinity, and reached Britain.

And, avoiding all circuitous paths, he went forward in the straight way, for no sincere one seeks the Lord in vain, with great expedition, and a prosperous wind, he reached our shores.

* This ordination of Patrick, by king Amathus, refers to the *first* Patrick. Palladius the Second was ordained by Celestine. *Auxilius* and *Iserninus*, were part of the staff Palladius.

But in the days, in which those things were done, there was in the before-mentioned countries, a certain great fierce and gentile king, emperor of the barbarians, reigning in *Temoria*, who was the chief of the *Scots*, named *Loigaire*, the son of *Neill*, the origin of almost all the royal race of this island; he had wise men and magicians, and soothsayers, and enchanters, and inventors of every evil art; who could know and foretel every thing before it should happen, after the manner of gentiles and idolaters; amongst whom, two were eminent above the rest,—their names were *Lothroch*, which is *Lochriv*, and *Luca-mael*, which is *Ronal*; and those two, by their magic art, often prophesied that there would be a certain foreign custom introduced, as the custom of the kingdom, with a certain unknown obnoxious doctrine, from far beyond sea, dictated by a few, and received by many :

To be honored by all,
About to overthrow kingdoms,
About to seduce opposing crowds,
About to destroy all their gods,
And about to rule above all others, by
the powers of its art, for all ages.

They declared that this law should be powerful and persuasive, and should surpass in strength and manner of language, the dictates which had frequently been issued previously

to the coming of Saint Patrick, for two or three years.

But these are short sentences, which, from the idiom of the language, are not easy to decipher.*

He shall prevail by his wooden staff, with a curved perforated head, and enchant from his house, *a wicked thing!* all his family from his table, from the farther part of his house shall answer him—“*let it be done,—let it be done.*”

Which can be very clearly expressed in our words: when all these things are come to pass, our kingdom, which is gentile, shall not stand, that, which is so powerful, shall vanish, for the worship of idols, shall be every where overturned at the coming of Patrick—for the general faith of Christ shall fill all things.

Of these enough has been said, let us return to our subject.

The voyage of the Saint, therefore, being terminated, and the honored ship of the Saint with its foreign wonderful and living treasures was borne, as if to a favorable port, in the

* The prophecy having been written in Irish.

country of the *Coolenni*, to a haven, which is renowned amongst us, and is called *hostium Dei*. It appeared to him, that nothing was better than that, in the first place, he should redeem himself, and from thence proceeding to the left countries, he turned the head of his ship, that he might go to the gentile *Milcoin*, with whom he was formerly in slavery; and, carrying twice the price of his ransom *as well heavenly as earthly*, that he might liberate himself from the slavery of him, whom he had before served in captivity, at the farther part of the island; which is called after his name even to this day.

He then proceeded to *Brega Conalneas*, which is at the extremity of Ulster, even to the farthest strait which is *Brene*. And they went down in the land to the port of *Slain*; he and those who were with him in the ship, and they left the boat, and came after a little into the country to rest there.

And they found living there the swine herds of a certain naturally good man, although a gentile, whose name was *Dichu*, where now is what is called the barn* of Patrick. But

* Abbey of Saul.

the swine-herd, thinking that they were thieves and robbers, ran off and told it to his lord *Dichu*.

He brought him against them, and being ignorant, he proposed in his heart to slay them, but seeing the face of Saint Patrick, the lord changed his thoughts to good, and Patrick preached the faith to him, and he believed, and the Saint remained there with him a few days. But he wished to go quickly to visit the before-mentioned man *Milcoin*, and carry to him his ransom, as well as to convert him to the faith of Christ. Having left his ship there at *Dicoín*, he began to direct his way to the regions of the Picts,* until he reached the mountain *Mis*, from which mountain, a long time before, when he was there in slavery, with hasty progress he saw the angel *Victoricius* ascend to heaven in his sight, leaving his footstep pressed on the rock of the mountain.

But *Milcoin*, hearing that his slave was come to visit him, to introduce, as if by force, a custom which he did not wish, in the end of his life ; that he should not be subject to his

* Cruidenorum.

slave, and that he should not rule over him, at the instigation of the devil, he burned himself and his house, which he formerly inhabited, with fire—the king was burned, together with all his substance collected around him.

Saint Patrick standing in the above-mentioned place, at the side of the before-named mountain *Mis*, where formerly the cross appeared for a sign, and met his sight, in that very place, he beheld the funeral pile of the king in flames.

Astonished, therefore, at this spectacle, he remained two or three hours without uttering a word, sighing, groaning, and weeping, and uttering these words: “I know not, God knows, this king, who destroyed himself with fire, would not believe in the end of his life, and would not obey the eternal God; I know not, but God knows, no one of his sons shall reign as king upon the throne of his kingdom from generation to generation, and his seed shall be slaves for ever.”

And uttering these words, and fortifying himself with the sign of the cross, he quickly bent his way to the country of the *Ultonians*,

by the same way, and again came to the plain of *Mis* to *Dichu*, and remained there many days going through the whole plain round about, and esteemed and loved them, for the faith began to increase there.

But Easter approached in which was the first passover celebrated to God, in this Egypt of our island—it was celebrated as formerly in *Genesera*. They found that a great council was to be held by the gentiles, to whom God had sent him at the same time, and that they were to celebrate the mysteries of their religion; whereupon it appeared to Saint Patrick who was divinely inspired, that this great solemnity of the Lord, which was, the head of all solemnities, should be celebrated in the very great plain, where was the chief seat of empire of those nations, and of all gentile customs, and of idolatry; that the cause of Christ could not be advanced more than that this unconquerable wedge, should be driven into the head of all idolatry, that it might not any farther have the power to rise against the faith of Christ, and so it was accomplished by the faith of St. Patrick and by his hands.

Having, therefore, pushed down the ship to

the sea; and that good man, *Dichu*, having dismissed them in perfect faith, and peace, leaving the plain of *Iniss* to the right hand, submitting all things to the fulness of their office, which were not unsuitable, they were borne to the left, happily and prosperously to the port of *Colpdi*. And, leaving their vessel there, they proceeded on foot to the before-mentioned great plain, until at length, towards evening, they reached *Ferti*, of the men of *Feec*, which, as stories tell, there belonged to *Fodoremus*; that is the servant of *Feccol Ferchertni*, who was one of the nine magicians, the prophets of *Bregg*, and there having pitched his tent, Saint Patrick performed the necessary vows of Easter, and sacrifice of praise to the most high God, with all devotion, in conjunction with his followers, according to the words of the prophet.

It happened in that year, that the gentiles were about celebrating an idolatrous solemnity, accompanied with many incantations, and some magical inventions, and other idolatrous superstitions; their kings being collected, also their satraps, with their chief leaders, and the principal among the people, and magi, and enchanter, and soothsayers, and the inventors of all arts, and gifts, doctors,

as they are called, to *Loigaire*, in *Temoria*, as their Babylon, as formerly to king *Nebochodonossor*, on the same night in which Saint Patrick was celebrating Easter, they were employed in their heathen festival.

There was also a certain custom amongst them—and they were enjoined by an edict, that, whoever, throughout the whole country, far or near, should on that night light a fire, before it was done in the king's house, that is in the Palace of *Temoria*, that soul should be cut off from his people.

Saint Patrick, therefore, celebrating the holy Easter, lighted a divine and blessed fire very bright, which shining, in the night, was seen by almost all the inhabitants of the plain.

Therefore, it happened, that it was seen from *Temoria*, and, when they beheld it, they were all astonished, and the seniors and elders being called to the king, declared that they were ignorant of who had done this; but the magi said, "O king, live for ever! the fire which we see, and which is lighted up this night, before it was lighted in your palace of *Temoria*, unless it should be put out on the same night on which it was lighted, it will never

be extinguished for all eternity; and moreover, all our accustomed fires will be put out, and he, who lighted it, coming to this kingdom, on the night in which the fire takes place, shall overcome you and us all, and shall seduce all the men of your kingdom, and all other kingdoms shall fall to him, and he shall fill all places, and shall rule for all generations.”

King *Loigaire*, having heard those predictions, was greatly disturbed, (as was *Herod* formerly) and all the state of *Temoria* with him—and answering, he said, “it shall not be so; but we will now go, that we may see the issue of the affair, and we will take into custody and slay those persons committing such enormities in our kingdom.”

Taking with him thrice nine chariots, according to the tradition of the gods, and the two magicians, prepared for conflict, that is to say, *Lucetmail* and *Locru*, in the end of the night, *Loigaire* set out from *Temoria* to *Ferti*, of the men of *Feec*. The faces of the men, and of the horses, were turned, according to what was pointed out to them, to the left.

And, as they went along, the magi said to the king, “Oh! king, you shall not go to the

place in which the fire is, lest, perhaps, you may hereafter adore him who lighted the fire, but you shall remain abroad ; but he shall be called to you, that he may adore you, and you shall rule over him, and we will converse with him by turns even in your sight, and O king, you shall prove us." And the king answering, said, "you have counselled well, I will do as you have suggested."

And they came to the appointed place, and descended from their chariots and horses, they did not enter into the circuit of the inflamed place, but stopped near.

And Saint Patrick was called to the king, near the place where the fire was ; and the magicians said to their own party :—" Let us not rise up at his approach, for whoever shall rise up at his coming shall believe in him, and afterwards shall adore him ; finally, Saint Patrick rising, and perceiving many chariots and their horses, he sung this verse of the psalm, not inapplicably, with his lips and in his heart—" *Some ride in chariots, and some on horses, but we will proceed in the name of our God.*"

And he went towards them and they did

not rise at his approach, but one alone, instigated by God, who would not obey the orders of the magicians, that is *Erce*, the son of *Dego*, (whose reliques are now adored in the city, which is called *Slane*) he rose up, and Patrick blessed him, and he believed in the eternal God.

As they commenced discoursing alternately, the magician, *Locru*, was bold in the presence of the Saint, daring to detract from the *Catholic faith*, with boisterous words, but Saint Patrick glancing at him uttering such expressions, as *Peter* did formerly at *Simon*, with power and great boldness exclaiming to the Lord, he said, "O Lord! who art almighty, and by whose power all things consist, and ye who sent me hither, let this impious wretch who blasphemes thy name, be lifted forth, and let him quickly die." And having said this, the magician was lifted up to the sky, and again cast down and his brains dashed out against a stone, and he died in their sight, and the gentiles feared.

And the king, and his followers, being enraged against Patrick, hereupon desired to kill him, and said, "lay hands on this wretch who is destroying us." Then, Saint Patrick seeing the impious gentiles about rushing

upon him, he rose up and with a clear voice said, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered, and let them who hate him flee before him ;" and instantly darkness ensued, and a dreadful commotion, and the impious wretches attacked each other, the one rushing upon the other, and there arose a great earthquake, and they collected their chariots, and drove them with force, and they rushed precipitately themselves in their chariots and their horses through the plain, until at length a few of them escaped, half-dead, to the mountain *Mondairn*, and there were prostrated, of the men of this country, before the king, *by the curse of Patrick*, forty-nine men. The king himself, however, remained, he and his wife and two others of the *Scots*, and greatly feared.

And the queen coming to Patrick, said to him, "O just and powerful man, destroy not the king—for the king will come and bend his knee, and will adore thy Lord." And the king came, impelled by fear, and bent his knee before the Saint, and set himself to worship him whom he was unwilling to honor, and when they separated a little distance, the king stepping forward, called Saint Patrick, with feigned words, wishing to slay

him. But Saint Patrick knowing the thoughts of the wicked king, having blessed his followers, in the name of Jesus Christ, came with eight men and a boy to the king. The king seeing them approach, his eyes failed him, but the gentiles saw those eight persons going like stags with a fawn, as if to the desert, and king *Loigaire* sad, fearful, and disgraced, escaping with a few followers arrived late at *Temoria*.

But on the following day, that is on the day of Easter, as the kings and princes and magicians were with *Loigaire*, (for that was a very great feast day amongst them) while they were eating and drinking wine, in the palace of *Temoria*—some were conversing, and others reflecting on those things which were done, Saint Patrick, with only two (or five) men, proceeded to contend and argue concerning the holy faith in *Temoria*, before all the people, with closed doors, according to that which is written of Christ. He then coming into the supper-room of *Temoria*, no one of them all rose up at his coming except one alone, that is *Dubthach Macculugil*, a very great poet, with whom there was at that time a certain youthful poet, named *Feec*, who afterwards became a celebrated bishop, whose

reliques are adored in Sleibti. This *Dubthach* alone, as I have said, of all the people, rose up in honor of Saint Patriek, and the Saint blessed him—and he first believed on that day, and it was counted to him for righteousness.

Saint Patrick, on being seen, was invited by the gentiles to eat, that they might prove him in future transactions, but he, knowing what was about to happen, did not refuse to partake.

Whilst they were all at supper, *Lucetmail*, the magician, who was in the night conflict, as well as in that which took place on that day, was anxious, on account of the death of his associate, to contend against Saint Patrick, and commenced in this manner, whilst some were looking, he poured from his vessel into the cup of Patrick, to see what he would do.

And Saint Patrick, seeing the object of this probation, in presence of all, blessed the cup, and the liquor became like ice, and the vessel being turned, that alone fell out which the magician had put into it, and he again blessed the cup, and the liquor was restored to its natural state, and they all wondered.

And after a little while, the magician said, "Let us perform signs in this very great plain." Patrick, answering, said, "What signs?" And the magician said, "Let us bring down snow upon the earth." And Patrick replied, "I am loath to act contrary to the will of God," but the magician said, "I will bring it down." Then, in presence of them all, he commenced his magical incantations, and brought down snow upon the whole plain of *Ferenn*; and they all saw it, and were astonished. And the Saint said, "Behold! discontinue that which we now see." And he said, "Before this hour to-morrow I cannot discontinue it;" and the Saint said, "You have power to do evil, but not good—it is not so with me;" Then, blessing the whole circuit of the plain, the snow immediately vanished without rain, clouds, or wind. The crowd shouted and wondered in their hearts—and after a little, having invoked the demons, the magician brought down very thick darkness upon the earth. And they all murmured. The Saint said, "Dispel the darkness." But he likewise failed in this; but the Saint praying, blessed it, and suddenly the darkness vanished and the sun shone, and they all shouted, and gave thanks.

All these things were done in sight of the king, between the magician and Patrick, and the king said, "Cast your books into the water, and him whose books shall *pass this trial*, we will adore." Patrick answered, "I will do so." But the magician said, "I will not submit to the trial by water with that man, for his god certainly possesses power over the water."—For he heard of Patrick's baptizing with water, and the king answering said: "Permit the trial to take place by fire." And Patrick said, "I am ready." And the magician unwilling, said, "This man alternately, in each successive year, adores water and fire." And the Saint said, "Not so, but you yourself, with one of my boys, shall go into a separate and closed house, and your vestment shall be on him, and mine on you; and thus, at the same time, the house shall be set on fire." And this counsel was approved, and there was a house built for them, half of which was made of green materials, and the other half was formed of dry; and the magician entered into that part of the house which was green, and one of the boys of Saint Patrick, *Bineus* by name, with the magic vest, was shut up in the other part of the house, which was then set on fire at the outside before the whole crowd, and it

came to pass, while Patrick prayed, that the flame encompassed the magician with his green half of the house, while the part of Saint Patrick remained untouched, the fire did not assail it. But the fortunate *Bineus*, on the contrary, was untouched in his dry half of the house, according to what was said of the three children, "the fire did not touch him, neither was he made sad," and the apartment of the magician was burned without injury to his part of the house, not without the permission of God. The king was greatly indignant against Patrick, on account of the death of his magician, and he almost had rushed upon him, desiring to slay him, but God prevented him, for at the intercession of Patrick, and at his entreaty the wrath of God descended on his head, and the king greatly feared, and his heart was alarmed, and all the state with him.

The elders, therefore, and all his senate, being assembled—king *Loigaire*, said to them, "It is better that I should believe than die;"—and the council being entered into, according to their advice, he believed on that day, and was converted to the everlasting God of Israel. Thereupon many others also believed, and Saint Patrick said to the king, "Be-

cause you have resisted my doctrine, and have been a scandal to me, although the days of your reign may be prolonged, nevertheless, there shall be no king of your seed for ever."

But Saint Patrick, according to the command of the Lord Jesus, baptized those nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and having set out from *Temoria*, he preached, the Lord assisting him, and confirming his sayings, with many miracles.

There was a certain man in the country of the *Ulothori*, in the time of Patrick, *Macuil Macugreccæ*, a man who was very impious, cruel, and tyrannous, like a cyclops—depraved in thought, and also in words—

Malignant in action,
Bitter in spirit,
Angry in disposition,
Abandoned in body,
Cruel in mind,
A gentile in his life,
Void of conscience,

sinking into such a depth of impiety, that on a certain day, in a rough mountainous height, sitting in the place of *Hindruim Mac-*

cuechach, he daily exercised his tyranny, committing the most impious cruelties, and slaying his guests on their journey, with abandoned wickedness.

Seeing Saint Patrick, shining with the clear light of faith, and glittering with the glorious diadem of his heavenly father, unshaken in his doctrine, and confidently walking in a favourable part of the road, he thought to slay him, saying to his attendants—"Behold this seducer and perverter of men comes, whose custom it is to practise deceits, to entrap many men, and to seduce them—let us go, therefore, and tempt him, and let us know if that God has any power in whom he boasts."

And, thus tempting the holy man, they placed one of themselves under a blanket, and feigning him to be dead, in order to prove the Saint by this kind of deception. At the approach of Saint Patrick and his disciples, they were exercising these subtilties and uttering prayers, and practising witchcraft and incantations—the gentiles said to him—"Behold one of us is now sick, approach, therefore, and perform some incantations of your sect over him, if perchance he may be healed."

Saint Patrick knowing all their stratagems and deceits, with constancy and intrepidity, said, "It were no wonder if he had been sick." His companions uncovering the face of him, pretending sickness, saw him dead. The gentiles wondering, and astonished at so great a miracle, said one to another, "Truly, this man is of God, we have done evil in tempting him."

But Saint Patrick, having turned to *Maccuil*, says, "Why did you wish to tempt me?" the cruel tyrant answered, "I am grieved at what I have done, whatever you command me, that I will do, and I now deliver myself into the power of your supreme God, whom you preach." The Saint said, "Believe, therefore, in my God, the Lord Jesus, and confess your sins, and be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And he was converted in that hour, and believed in the eternal God, and moreover, was baptized. And now *Maccuil* added this, saying, "I confess to you, my holy Lord Patrick, that I proposed to slay you; judge, therefore, how much I owe for so great a crime." And Patrick said, "I cannot judge—but God will judge."

“ Do you, therefore, depart now, unarmed, to the sea, and pass over quickly from this country of *Ireland*, taking nothing with you of your substance, except a common small coat, with which you may be able to cover your body, eating nothing and drinking nothing of the produce of this island, having a mark of your sin on your head; and when you reach the sea, bind your feet together with an iron fetter, and cast the key of it into the sea, and embark in a boat, of *one hide*,* without rudder, or oar, and wherever the wind and tide shall carry you, be prepared to remain, and to whatever land providence shall carry you, live there, and obey the divine commands.”

And *Maccuil* said, “ I will do so, as you have said, but concerning the dead man, what shall we do ?” and Patrick said, “ He shall live, and shall rise again without pain;” and Patrick called him to life in that hour, and he revived quite sound.

And *Maccuil* departed thence very speedily to the sea, at the right of the plain of *Inis*, his

* The *cot* or *coracle*, a basket-boat covered with a hide.

confidence being unshaken, he bound himself on the shore, casting the key into the sea, according to what was commanded him, and then he embarked in a little boat, and the north wind arose, and bore him to the south, and cast him on the island of *Evonia*, and he found there two men, very wonderful in faith and doctrine, who first taught the word of God and baptism in *Evonia*.

And the men of this island were converted, by their doctrine to the Catholic faith, whose names are *Conindri* and *Rumili*. But these two seeing a man of the same habit, wondered and pitied him, and lifted him out of the sea, the spiritual fathers received him with joy; he, therefore, after finding himself in a region believing in God, conformed himself soul and body to their guidance, and spent the residue of his life with those two holy bishops, until he was appointed their successor in the bishopric.

This is *Maccuel Dimane*, bishop and prelate of *Ardd Huimnonii*.

On another occasion Saint Patrick, resting on the Sabbath, by the sea, near a salt-pit, which is toward the northern side of the coun-

try, no great distance from the hill *Bovís*, heard an intemperate sound of the gentiles labouring on the Lord's day, making a rath, and having called them, Patrick forbid them labour on the Lord's day ; but they did not attend to the words of the Saint, nay more, laughing, they mocked him ; and Saint Patrick said, "*Mudebroth*,"* although you have laboured, what you have completed shall not profit you ;" on the following night a great wind arising, disturbed the sea, and the tempest destroyed all the labours of the gentiles, according to the words of the Saint.

There was a certain man, rich and honorable in the eastern country, whose name was *Daire*, him Patrick asked to give him some place to exercise their religion.

And the rich man said to the Saint, "What place do you require?" "I ask you," said the Saint, "To give me that high spot of ground which is called *Dorsum Salicis*, and I will construct there a place for the purpose." But he was unwilling to give the Saint that high part, but he gave him another place, in a lower situation, where now is *Fertie* of the

* *Proud Slave*, or *Slave of Pride*.

martyrs, near *Armagh*, and Saint Patrick dwelt there with his followers.

And after a short time a *horseman* of *Daire's* came, leading a horse, belonging to *Daire*, to feed in a grassy place. (*Christi annorum**) The bringing down of the horse into his place offended Patrick, and he said, "*Daire* has acted foolishly in sending brutish animals to disturb this holy place which he gave to God."

But the horseman, as if deaf, did not hear him, and as if dumb, not opening his mouth, spoke not, but having let out his horse there, for that night, departed.

On the following day, in the morning, the horseman coming to see the horse, found him dead, and he returned sad, and said to his lord—"Behold! the Christian has slain your horse, for the disturbance of his place offended him." And *Daire* said, "He also, shall be now slain, go and kill him." And as they were going, instantly death seized upon *Daire*—and his wife said—"The Christian is the cause of this, let some one go quickly,

* I cannot see the meaning of this.

and let his blessings be brought to us, and he shall be safe. And let them who went out to kill him be prevented and recalled."

And the two men went out to slay him, who said to the Christian, concealing from him what had happened: "Behold! *Daire* is sick, let something be brought to him from you, if perchance it may have the power to cure him."

But Saint Patrick, knowing what had happened, said, "Certainly." And *he blessed water*, and gave it to them, saying, "Go, sprinkle your horse with this water, and carry him with you;" and they did so, and the horse revived, and they carried him with them—and *Daire* was also restored by the sprinkling of holy water.

And *Daire* came after this, that he might honour Saint Patrick, carrying with him a wonderful brazen foreign vessel, containing three measures, and *Daire* said to the Saint, "Take this brazen vessel with you;" and Saint Patrick said, "*grassichum*."* And *Daire* returned home and said, "This is a

* *Grazichum*—*Gratias agam*—*Thank you*.

foolish fellow, who said nothing good, except *grassichum*." Then *Daire* sent again for the wonderful brazen vessel containing three measures, and said to his servants, "Go, carry back to us our brazen vessel." And they departed, and said to Patrick, "We will carry back the brazen vessel." And Saint Patrick again replied, *grassichum*, "carry it off." And they bore it away. And *Daire* questioned his companions, saying, "What did the Christian say, have you not brought back the brazen vessel?" And they answered, "He said, *grassichum*." And *Daire* answered, "He says *grassichum*, when I give—and *grassichum*, when I take away."—They carried again to him the brazen vessel—and *Daire* came himself and carried the brazen vessel to Patrick, saying to him, "Take your brazen vessel with you, for you are a constant and immoveable man; and moreover, that part of the land, which you formerly requested, I now give you, as much as I have, and dwell there;" that is the city, which is now called *Armagh*. And they both departed, Saint Patrick and *Daire*, that they might consider the wonderful offerings, and the pleasing gift, and to ascend that height of ground. They found a deer, with her little fawn, lying in the place where is now an altar of the church of *Armagh*,

and the associates of Patrick rashly wished to slay the fawn, but the Saint was unwilling, and did not permit it; but the Saint himself, holding the fawn, carried it on his shoulders, and the deer following him, even like a most attached sheep, until at length he let down the fawn in another wood, situated at the northern side of *Armagh*, where those persons skilled in such matters say, that some signs of his virtue remain even to this day.*

There was a certain man, very severe and covetous, living in the plain of *Inis*. Those acquainted with the matter say, that he incurred the scandal of folly and avarice, by one day taking away two of Patrick's draft oxen, after his holy labour in the cultivation of his own field; while the oxen were resting and feeding themselves, he with force and violence, and in the very presence of Patrick himself, took them. Angry with him, Saint Patrick said, with a curse—" *Mudebrod*,† you have acted ill, never shall your field profit you, nor shall it nurture your seed for ever—it shall now become useless." And it so came to pass, for an inundation of the sea, very violent,

* Aidus calls all this a *fable*.

† *Proud Slave*.

coming on the same day, inundated and covered the entire field, and the before fruitful ground, according to the words of his prophecy, was converted into a salt-marsh, from the malice of the inhabitants—and it has remained in that sandy and unfruitful state, from the day on which Saint Patrick cursed it, even to the present day.

[Here ends the first and begins the second Book.]

Of the diligence of Patrick in prayer.

Of the dead man speaking to him.

Of the illumination of Sunday night, so that the horses were found.

Of what the angel forbid to do, lest he should be exterminated.

Of the burning bush in which the angel was.

Of the four prayers of Patrick.

Of the day of his death, and of the time of his life, for thirty years.

Of the limits which he placed on the night.

Of the darkness dissipated for twelve nights.

Of the vigils of the first night, which the angels kept near the body of Patrick.

Of the directions of the angel respecting his funeral.

Of the fire breaking forth out of his tomb.

Of the sea arising a second time, that there should not be war for his body.

Of the happy bringing off of the people.

But if any one should faithlessly wish to deny that the night was prolonged to them, and that the night was not perceptible over the whole province, for the short space in which the mourning for Patrick took place—let him hear and diligently consider in what manner the sun-dial of Achaz, was affected in the time of the Prophet Ezekiel, which may demonstrate the truth of what is here recited of Patrick.

HIS DILIGENCE IN PRAYER.

The psalms and hymns, and the revelations of John, and the spiritual canticles in scriptures, he daily sung, whether at home or proceeding on a journey, also with the sign of the cross at every hour of the day and night, crossing himself an hundred times, and at all the crosses which he saw, descending from his chariot for the purpose of prayer, he alighted there. Proceeding also on a certain day, he passed by a cross which was by the way-side, without seeing it: but the charioteer saw it. When they had arrived at the inn whither they proceeded, and when they began to pray before meat, "I say," said the charioteer, "I saw a cross placed near the road by which we came." And Patrick having left the inn,

by the same road by which he came, proceeding to the cross, he prayed, and there he saw a sepulchre, and asked the buried man in his tomb, by what death he had departed, and in what faith he had lived; and the dead man answered, "I lived a gentile, and was buried here."

A certain woman, living in another province, had a son who died, who was long separated from her, and was buried in her absence; but, after some days, the mother, grieving for her lost son, by an unforeseen mistake, thinking the tomb of the gentile man to be the grave of her son, placed the cross, not beside him, but near the gentile; and on this account St. Patrick said, he did not see the cross, because it was the place for burial of the gentiles; and greater virtue arose from this, that the dead man should speak, and he who died in the faith of Christ should be known, and accordingly he caused the position of the cross to be altered in testimony of him who died in the true faith.

Patrick would not depart from any place on any Sunday, in honour of the day; but it was his custom, to rest from the evening of the Lord's night even to the morning of Monday,

remaining all night in the plain, heavy with rain, and beaten by the tempest. But when the heavy rain committed devastations over the whole country in the place where the holy bishop was spending the night, he remained dry, as if under a shell, and in a fleece, as *Gideon*. His charioteer once told him that his horses were lost, he bewailed them as if they were his beloved friends—for he sought them through the darkness, not having light to guide him; the piety of the holy father Patrick was excited, and he thus addressed the weeping charioteer:—"God is a ready helper in difficulties and in opportunities, he will afford his assistance, and you shall find the horses for which you are grieved." Whereupon, he elevated and extended his hand, the five fingers whereof exhibiting a luminous appearance, enlightened the objects around, and by the light of his extended hand, the charioteer found the horses which he had lost, and which occasioned his lamentation; but this miracle the charioteer concealed until the death of Patrick.

After so many miracles, which have been written elsewhere, and which the world, with faithful mouth, celebrated, the day of his death

approaching, an angel came to him, and spoke to him concerning it. Therefore, he desired to go to *Armagh*, for he preferred it above all lands. He then commanded, that many men should come to him, and convey him whither he wished to go, and, with his companions, he began to enter on his journey towards *Armagh*, to the wished-for land; but, by the way-side a certain bush was on fire, but was not consumed, as formerly appeared to Moses in a bush. *Victor* was the angel who was often accustomed to visit Patrick, but he sent another angel to forbid Patrick from proceeding whither he desired to go, who said to him, "Wherefore do you set out without the advice of *Victor*—why did *Victor* call you to him, and why did you disobey him?" and, as it was commanded him, he stopped, and asked what he ought to do; the angel answered, and said, "Return to the place from whence you came, that is *Sabul*, and the four prayers which you made, are accomplished for you."

First prayer—That your ordination should take place in *Armagh*.

Second prayer—That whoever should sing a hymn which was composed by you, on the

day of departure from the body, you shall judge it as repentance of his sins.

Third prayer—That the posterity of *Dichon*, who kindly received you, should experience mercy and not perish.

Fourth prayer—That all the Irish on the day of judgment shall be judged by you, as it was said to the apostles, “And sitting on thrones, ye shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel,” and as the apostles are to judge Israel, so shall you judge the Scots.

“Return, therefore, as I say to you, and dying you shall enter upon the path of your fathers.” Which was accomplished on the sixteenth day of the calends of April, having attained the age of one hundred and twenty, as is celebrated every year over the whole of Ireland, and kept sacred. Because on the day of his death there was no night, and for twelve days in that province in which his obsequies were performed, night did not appear, and did not embrace the earth with dusky wings; nor was the paleness of night great; nor was there obscurity requiring the illumination of the stars.

And the people of *Ulster* said, that even to the end of the whole year in which he departed, never was such darkness at night as then ; which is doubtful, whether it ought to be declared, as proceeding from merit in the man. But the hour of his death approaching, he received the sacrament from *Tassach* the bishop, that as the angel *Victor* said to him, he might receive the passport to eternal life.

On the first night of his obsequies, angels kept watch over his body, with all kinds of vigils and psalms. Whatever *men* came to keep vigils on that first night, were overcome by sleep ; the *angels* praying and singing psalms, guarded the body.

But when the angels departed into heaven, they sent a most delightful odour as if of honey, and of sweet fragrance, as of wine, so that it filled the place, as is mentioned in the benediction of the blessed patriarch *Jacob*, “ Behold ! the odour of my son, is like that of a plenteous field, which the Lord has blessed.”

But when the angel came to him, he gave him advice as to his burial, “ Let two untamed oxen be allowed to proceed wherever they wish, and where they shall rest, let a church

be founded there in honour of your body.” And as the angel said, the unsteady steers were chosen, and a cart of steady weight was placed upon their shoulders, on which they carried the sacred body, and in the place which is called *Clocher*, at the east of *Findubrec*, they selected the oxen from among the cattle of *Conail*, and they departed, the son of God guiding them to *Dun leth glaisse*, where Patrick was buried. And he said to him, “ Let not the remains of your body be brought back out of the earth, and let a cubit of earth be placed above your body ;” which was done according to the command of God, and was manifested in after times, for when the church was building over his body, the men who were digging the foundation, perceived fire to break out from the grave, and retiring, they fled with fear from the flame.

On account of the remains of Saint Patrick at the time of his death, a dire contention and war arose between the descendants of *Niell*, and those of the eastern parts on one side, those who formerly were friends and neighbours, soon became the direst enemies. Even to the strait which is called *Collum Bovis*, blood was shed on account of St. Patrick, and the mercy of God interposed the sea, shaking and swell-

ing with waves, and the hollow summits of the billows broke sometimes against the coast and promontories, and sometimes, with curled surge, rushed through the yellow vallies to the place of contest, as if to restrain the fury of the enraged nations ; and thus the fierceness of the sea arose and prevented the battle of the combatants. But afterwards, Patrick being buried, and the tumult of the sea abated, those from the eastern parts, and against them *Ulta* and the descendants of *Neill*, fiercely rush to the combat, and emulously prepared and armed themselves for war, at the place of the holy body, and broke forth as if impelled headlong by a happy deception, thinking that they should find the two oxen and the cart, and also recover the body of the Saint.—In a body, they proceeded, and with great preparation and array, even to the river *Cab-cenna* ; and the body appeared not unto them, for it was not possible that their peace should be made by such and so holy a body, unless it had been so ordained by the will of God. These signs of the times were shewn, that an innumerable host of souls should be turned from destruction and death, unto salvation, by a happy deception, as the blinded Assyrians of old would have perished but for the holy prophet Elisha, by whom, under divine

providence, they were led into Samaria ; and this deception also was made the means of producing concord among the people.

Again the hour of prayer came round ; the angel, on every seventh day, was in the habit of coming ; and, as a man speaks with a man, Patrick enjoyed along the road the conversation of the angel. He was taken captive in the 13th year of his age, and was in bondage for six years ; and thirty times did the angel come to him, and did he enjoy conference with the angel prior to his departure to the *Latins* from *Scotia*. He prayed one hundred times in the day, and one hundred times in the night. Sometimes while tending the swine, he lost them ; and the angel, coming to him, pointed out the swine. Sometimes, also, the angel talked much to him ; and when he had spoken to him, placing his foot, left its impression on the rock on the mountain *Mis*, he ascended before him, and the print is visible there even to this day. In that place he communed with him thirty times ; and the prayers of the faithful in this place would obtain the happiest results.

Finit Amen.

Patrick carried with him to *Sinnin*, 50 bells, 50 vessels, 50 cups, altars, books of the law, and books of the gospel, and left them in new places.

Patrick was baptized in his sixth year—taken captive in his twentieth—served in slavery twelve years—studied forty years—taught sixty-one. His entire age was one hundred and eleven years.

ANONYMOUS NOTICES.

PATRICK came from the plain of *Airthice* to *Drammut Cerigi*, and to *Namnu Toisciart*, to *Ailich Esrachtæ*; and had with him eight or nine men, with tablets in their hands, written after the Mosaic manner; whom the Gentiles seeing, exclaimed that, as they had swords in their hands, they would slay the holy men. Wooden weapons were seen with them, but we think the swords were iron. The multitude desired greatly to abuse the holy men, and to shed their blood; but there was a merciful man among them, named *Hercaith*, of

the family of *Nathus*, the father of *Feredachus*; he believed the God of Patrick, and Patrick baptized him, and his son *Feredachus*. And he offered his son to Patrick, and he departed with Patrick for instruction for thirty years, who ordained him in the city of Rome; and gave him the new name of *Sachellus*, and wrote for him a book of Psalms, which I saw, and he procured for him a portion of the reliques of Peter and Paul, Lawrence and Stephen, which are preserved in Machi.*

Cartiacus and *Sachellus*, the clergymen, having ordained bishops and deacons of the church, without the knowledge or authority of Patrick, in the plain of *Asus*, he cursed them; and sending letters to them, they were brought to Armagh, to Patrick, and there did penance. And he told them that they were *not of the great and true church*.

THE SAYINGS OF ST. PATRICK.

I had the fear of God as the guide of my journey through Gaul, Italy, and the islands which are in the Terrene sea.

* This refers to the 2d Patrick.

For an age, God be thanked, you have been calling upon the churches of the Scots to enter paradise, in union with the Roman church, so that they, as Christians, may unite with you in the same service as the Romans.

It behoves all the church which follow me, at all hours of prayer, to use that very praiseworthy sentence, *Curie lession, Christe lession*. For all churches should sing, *Cyrie lession, Christe lession, deo gratias*.

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

TIRECHAN'S COLLECTIONS CONCERNING ST. PATRICK.

The following written memoranda concerning St. Patrick, were from the mouth or book of Ultan the bishop, by Tirechan, the bishop, his pupil and disciple.

I have found four names given to Patrick, in the book of Ultan, Bishop of Connor.* *Magonius*, which is *renowned*; *Succetus*, which is *Patrick*; *Cothirthac*, because he served in *four houses* of the Magi. One of them, whose name was *Miliuc Mac Cuboin*, a magician, bought him and kept him *four* years, and subjected him to every slavery, and to double labour, and made him a swine-herd in the mountains and vallies. At this time, an angel of the Lord, named *Victor*, visited him in his

* Ware erroneously reckons Ultan among the Bishops of Meath.

sleep, at the top of the mountain *Scirte*, near the mountain *Miss*. The communication of the angel was to this effect.—“*Lo ! your ship is ready, rise and walk.*” And he left him and ascended into heaven. 'Patrick rose up and walked, as the angel of the Lord commanded him.

In the 17th year of his age, he was taken, brought over, and sold in Ireland. In the 22d year of his age, or rather of his labours, he was able to escape. In the other years, as he said, in recruiting his labours, he sailed over the waves, and walked over the country parts, and through vallies, and over mountains, through Gaul, and all Italy, and the islands which are in the Terrene sea.

He was in one of those islands, which is called *Aralanensis*, thirty years, as was testified to me by Ultan, the bishop. But of what happened to him, as clearly related in his history, these are his *latest miracles*, which were accomplished *after the second year* of the reign of Logaire, the son of Neill.

From the passion of Christ to the death of Patrick, there were four hundred and thirty-six years.

Loigare reigned two, or five years*, after the death of Patrick. The entire length of his reign is computed by us at thirty-three years.

Patrick, indeed, came with the Gauls to the islands of Mac Euchar, the most eastern of which is still called the *island of Patrick*. With him there were a multitude of holy bishops, presbyters, deacons, exorcists, hostiarii, and readers, as well as their sons, whom he ordained.

He afterwards went up from the sea to the plain of *Brieg*, at sun-rise, with the blessing of God, and the true sun of wonderful doctrine, the great morning star, he commenced dispelling the dark shades of ignorance in Ireland. The holy bishop arose, and was unremittingly, from time to time, before the altar, in the name of the Lord God the Father, and of the Son, and the Spirit of the holy and merciful Jesus Christ. This is called, in the language of the Scots, *Ochen*.

He came to the valley of *Sesenan*, and built there the first church ; and having brought his

* The scribe could not tell whether the numeral was ii, *two*, or u, *five*, they are so similar in the oldest Irish MSS.

son, named *Sesceneus*, with him, as bishop, left him there with two foreign boys. One evening, coming to the gate of *Ailbina*, to a certain good man, he baptized him, and his son, having pleased him. He gave him the name of *Benignus*, because he gathered the feet of Patrick between his hands and breast, and would not remain with his father and mother, but cried, unless he should be permitted to sleep with Patrick.

In the morning, when was about to depart, having finished his blessing on the father of Benignus, Patrick was ascending his chariot, had one foot in it, and the other on the ground, the boy, Benignus, held fast the foot of Patrick in both hands, and cried out, "Suffer me to go with Patrick, my real father;" and Patrick said, "Baptize him, and raise him into the chariot, for he is the heir of my kingdom." This is Benignus the bishop, successor of Patrick in the Church of Macha.

The number of bishops whom he ordained in Ireland, amounted to four hundred and fifty.

The number of priests we cannot say, because he baptized men every day, and read

to them letters and primers ; and of the rest he made priests, for they received baptism at a proper and sedate age.

Of the Bishops.

Benignus, Bronus, Sachellus, Cathiacus, Carthacus, Cartenus, Connanus, Fintranus, Siggeus, Æternus, Sencaticus, Olcantus, Iborus, Ordus, Nazarius, Miserneus, Senachus, Secundinus, Gozachus, Camulacus, Auxilius, Victoricus, Bressialus, Feccus, Menathus, Cennannus, Nazarus, Melus, Maceleus, Mactaleus, Culeneus, Asacus, Bitheus, Falertus, Sesceneus, Muirethchus, Temoreris, who built the holy church *Cairce*, which the family *Clonoatiss* held ; Daigneus, Justianus, Mac Hii Daimene, Oloanus, Domnallus, and very many others.

Of the Priests.

Anicius, Brocidius, Amirgenus, Lommanus, Catideus, Catus, Catanus, Broscus, Ailbeus, Trianus. The names of the three bishops of the *Franks* consecrated by Patrick, Inæpius, Bernicius, Hernicius.—Sub-deacons, Seman, Semen, Cancen.—Bernicius, the deacon, and Ernicius twelve Franks, with one sister, (or vi. or iii.)—Cassanus, Conlang, Erclung, Brocanus, Roddanus, Brigson, and the other Roddanus, who founded the church ; Senem,

grandson to Ailellus, because the monks of Patrick held Gengen and Sannuch.

Of the Deacons.

Ivostus, the deacon who baptized Ceranus, the son of the workman of Patrick.—Corinmanus, the deacon, beloved by Patrick, who was in the great church of Airdlicca.—Olcanus, the monk who was in the great cell of Muaida, was made a priest; we know that two exorcists were with him, and the exorcist *Losca* in the back of *Dairi*.

In the regions of *Tuirtri*, were other exorcists. In the plain of *Liphi*. Of the churches which he founded in the plain of Breg—1st. in *Culmine*.—2d. the church of *Cerne*, in which *Hercus* was buried, who attained a great age.—3d. in the tops of *Aisse*.—4th. in *Bladine*.—5th. in *Collumbæ*, in which he ordained *Eugenius*, the holy bishop.—6th. the church of the son of *Laithphi*.—7th. *Imbrida*, in which was the holy and beloved brother of *Carthasus*—8th. that in *Angetbor*, in which was *Kannanus*, the bishop, whom Patrick ordained at the beginning of Easter.

Hiffertus, of the men of *Feicc*, was the first who burned incense, and carried wax-candles;

he first took them home from the hands of Patrick, and caused the holy smoke to ascend into the eyes and nostrils of the gentile-men, and of king Loigaire, and of his magicians; because three brothers opposed him, magicians of the same father—*Cruth, Loch, Lethlanii*, of the family of *Runtir*, who made great opposition against Patrick and *Benignus*. The cloak of the magician was burned round *Benignus*, and reduced to ashes; but the pious youth was preserved safe by the faith of God, in the sight of the king, of the people, and of the magicians; but the cloak of *Benignus*, the disciple of Patrick, being fixed steady round the magician, he was set on fire in the midst of them, and was consumed. Patrick said, “*In this hour, all the gentile faith in Ireland is consumed.*” And Patrick lifted up his hands to God, about the magician *Loch Letheus*, and said, “*O Lord, cast away from me this dog, who barks at thee to thy face, and let him die,*” and they all saw the magician raised up through the shades of night even to the heavens, but his dead body, glued together, mixed with hail and snow, and ignited sparks, returned to the earth, and fell before the faces of all, and became petrified, and remains a stone in the south-eastern coasts, even to the present day, and I beheld it with my own eyes.

On Sunday, he came to *Taltena*, where *Agon* was king, to *Coirpriticus*, the son of *Neill*, who wished to slay him, and flogged his servants in the river *Sele*, which act of *Coirpriticus* was told Patrick, who called him an enemy of God, and said to him “ *Thy seed shall serve the seed of thy brothers, and there shall not be a king of thy seed for ever, and there shall never be great fish hereafter in the river Sele.*”

Soon after he came to the house of *Conallus*, the son of *Neill*, which stood in the place where at this day, is the church of the great Patrick; and he received him with joy, and was baptized, and Patrick confirmed his throne for ever, and said to him, “ *The seed of thy brothers shall serve thy seed for ever; but you and your sons, and your son’s sons, ought to deal mercifully unto my sons and successors, who faithfully believe for ever;*” and he ordained that the length of the church of the God of Patrick should be sixty feet, and Patrick said, “ *If the church be lessened, thy reign shall not be long, nor firmly established.*”

Easter Sunday being past, he departed to the ford *Mola*, (*Broon*) and there founded a church, in which he left three brethren with

one sister ; and these are their names *Cathæceus*, *Cathurus*, *Catneus*, and their sister *Catnea* ; who milked the wild does, as old people have told me.

And he went again to the city of *Temoria* to *Loigaire*, the son of *Neill*, because with him he had ratified a league, that he should not be slain while he was king. But he would not believe, though spoken to, for he said, *Neill, my father suffered me not to believe, but ordered, that I should be buried in the tops of Temoria, like men standing up in war, for the gentiles are accustomed to be entombed armed, with their weapons ready, face to face, in which manner they remain among the magicians, even to the day of Erdatha—that is, to the day of the Lord—Ithe, son of Neill, the son of Dunlinge of Immaiften, in the plain of Liphi, hated him for such harshness as this.*

Soon after, he founded the church of *Icarrie Dagri*, and another church *Immruig Thuaithe* ; and he wrote letters to *Cerpanus*. And having entered into the royal palace, they did not rise up before him, except *Hercus*, the layman, and he said to him, “ *Why have you only arisen to honour my God in my person?*” And *Hercus* said to him, “ *I know not*

why, but by God's power, ignited sparks ascended from your lips to mine." The Saint also said to him, "*If you will be baptized in the Lord, you shall receive what I have power to give you.*" He answered, "*I will receive.*" And they came to the fountain, which is called in the Scottish tongue *Loigles*, but with us *the calf of cities*. And having opened the book and baptized *Hercus*, he heard men behind his back, deriding him for that which he was doing, because they knew not what he did. And he baptized many thousand men on that day. Among their opinions of baptism, he heard the following:—Behold, two noble-men were discoursing behind him, and said one to another, "What thou sayest is true, it was foretold from the circle of the year which has passed by, that you would come hither in those days;" and he said, "Tell me your name, I entreat you, and that of your father and of your country, and of your house and residence." He answering, said, "I am the son of *Amolngid*, the son of *Fechrach*, the son of *Echach*, from the western country, from the plain of *Donmon*, and from the wood of *Fochloth*." And when he heard the name of his father and the wood *Fochloth*, he rejoiced greatly, and said to him, "*Endeus*, the son of *Amolngid*, *I will go with you if I live, because*

the Lord commanded me that I should go." And Endeus said, "*You shall not go with me, lest we be both slain.*" The Saint then said; "*You shall never arrive at your country, unless I shall go with you, and you shall not have eternal life, because you came here on my account, like Joseph before the children of Israel.*" But Endeus said to Patrick, "Do you baptize my son, because he is of tender age, but I and my brethren cannot believe you, until we come to our own people, lest those people laugh at us." *Conallus* was accordingly baptized, and Patrick gave him his benediction, and held his hand, and gave him to *Cathiacus* the bishop, and he brought him up, and *Cathiacus* taught him, and *Mucneus*, the brother of *Cathiacus*, the bishop, whose remains are in the great church of Patrick, in the wood of *Fochloth*. On this account *Cathiacus* entrusted his island to *Conallus*, and it remains in that family even to the present day, because he was a layman after the death of Saint *Cathiacus*.

The six sons of *Amolngid* sought a decision of their cause before the face of *Loigaire*, and *Endeus* was one of them; and his son was of tender age, and Patrick was appealed to before them, and investigated their title of heir-

ship. And *Loigaire* and Patrick adjudged, that they should divide the inheritance into seven parts. But *Endeus* said, "I offer my son and my portion of the inheritance to the God of Patrick, and to Patrick himself; and on this account, some say, we are the servants of Patrick, even to the present day.

And they formed a covenant, through the mediation of *Loigaire*, the son of *Neill*, Patrick and the sons of *Amolngid*, the army of laymen, and saints, with the holy bishops; and they entered upon their journey to the mountain *Egli*.^{*} And Patrick paid the sum the law ordained for an escort of twelve men, in addition to a donation of silver and gold, that he might be protected from any ill-disposed person, who should impede or injure them on their journey across Ireland. Because necessity obliged them to pass through the wood of *Fochloth*, before the beginning of the year, on the second Easter, because of the children exclaiming with great clamour, He heard them in their mothers' womb saying, "*Come, Saint Patrick, save us.*"

^{*} Croagh Patrick.

He founded a church at the ford *Segi*, another church at *Cinnena Sancta*, on the ford of *Carnoi Imboind*, another on *Coirp Raithe*, and another upon the mound of *Dall Bronig*, because the bishop, the son of Cartin, the maternal uncle of Saint Bridget, possessed it. He founded another in the plain of *Echredd*, another in the plain of *Taideri*, which is called *Cellbile*, in the family of *Scirest*; another in the plain of *Echnach*, in which was *Cassanus* the priest; another in *Singitibus*; another in the plain of *Bili*, near the ford of *Capitis Canis*; another in *Capite Carmelli*, in the plain of *Teloch*, in which Saint Bridget took the veil, at the hands of the son of *Caille*.

In *Huisniuch Midi*, he remained near the rock of *Coithrigi*, where some of his foreigners were slain by the son of *Fechach*, the son of *Neill*, whom Patrick cursed, saying, "*There shall not be a king of your line, but you shall serve the seed of your brethren.*" He founded another church in the head of *Airt*, in the regions of *Roide*, in which he placed an altar of stone, and another at *Hicuil Corre*. And he came through the river *Ethne* to the two *Tethbrias*; and ordained *Melus* bishop, and founded the church of *Bili*, and ordained

Gosactus, the son of *Milcon Mac Cubooin*, whom he educated in his seven years slavery. And sending *Camulacus*, of the *Commiensium*, to the plain of *Cuini*, and pointed out to him with his finger the situation of the church of *Raithin*, from the summit of *Granneret*.

And he came to the plain of *Rein*, and ordained *Bruscus* priest, and founded for him a church; he thus spoke wonderfully, after his death, to another saint who was in the island of the family of *Cotirbi*, “*You are blest, whilst you have your son, but I am grieved because my death has left me alone in a church in a desert, in a church forsaken and vacated; for the priests do not associate near me at night, and visions arise to my imagination,*”

On the third day, the Saint arose and took a *ring*, an earthen vessel, and a spade, and dug up the mound of the grave, and took away the bones of Saint *Bruscus* with him, to the island where they still remain.

But Patrick sent *Methbrain* to the hill of *Slecht*, the barbarian neighbour of Patrick, who was speaking wonderful truths by God’s assistance. And Patrick came to the channel

of *Sinona*, to the place where his chariotseer *Boidmatus*, died and was buried, for which reason it is called *Cail Boidmail*, even to the present day, and it was consecrated by Patrick,

The first book ends in the country of the posterity of *Neill*. The second begins and concludes in the country of *Connacht*.

All which I have written from the beginning of this book, ye know, because they were performed in your country, *except a few things which I have discovered as the fruits of my labour*, from many old people, and from *Ultanus* himself, the bishop of Connor, who brought me up and first informed me. But my heart reflects within me, concerning the love of Patrick, because I see the disturbers, builders, predatory chiefs, and soldiers of Ireland, whom I hate, possessing Patrick's patrimony; for they took away from him what was his, and they are afraid, if the successor of Patrick should again demand his patrimony, they should be compelled to restore him nearly the whole island—because God gave him

I. The whole island, with its inhabitants,
by the angel of the Lord.

II. And he taught them the law of the Lord.

III. And baptized them with the baptism of
God.

IV. And pointed out the cross of Christ.

V. And related his resurrection.

But they do not love his family, because it is not lawful to swear against him or upon him. And it is not lawful to raise the club against him, because all the first fruits of the church of Ireland are his ; but every thing is sworn by him which is sworn.

Every thing which I have written from the beginning of this book, is in full. But every thing which remains, shall be more concise.

Saint Patrick afterwards came through the channel of the river *Sinne*, through the ford of the two birds, to the plain of *Ai*. Two brothers, *Calerus* and *Capitolanuim*, the magicians of *Loigaire*, the son of *Neill*, who brought up the two daughters of *Loigaire*, *Ethne the fair*, and *Fedelm Nufa*, hearing what had been done, and fearing lest they should imbibe the opinions of the holy man, were

very indignant, and caused the darkness of night and thick obscurity to cover the whole plain of *Ai*. We know not by whose power this happened ; but we know that this night was the length of three entire days and nights. And the Saint fasted for three days and three nights, and with one hundred prayers, and constant prostrations, entreated God, the king of kings, and all the magic weight of darkness fled from the plain of *Ai*. And he returned God thanks. And they came through the channel of the river *Sinne*, which is called *Bandea*, to the mount *Gradi*, in which place he ordained the holy *Albeus* a priest, for whom he pointed out a wonderful stone altar, in the mountain of the descendants of *Ailellus*, for he was among the descendants of *Ailellus*. And he baptized Saint *Maneus*, whom bishop *Bronus*, the son of *Josus*, the servant of God, and the companion of Patrick, ordained. They came to the plain of *Glais*, and there placed a cell, which is called *the great cell*, and there he left two bearded monks, *Conleng* and *Ercleng*.

He then came to *Assicus* and *Bisius*, and to the magicians who were of the race of *Corcu chon luain Bono* and *Ith*, brothers ; one of

whom received Patrick and his saints with joy, and offered him his house.

And he went to *Imbliuch Hornon*, to whom Patrick said, “Thy seed shall be blessed, and from thy seed shall arise priests of the Lord, and chief men, worthy of my compassion, and of being your heirs.” And he placed there *Assicus* and *Betheus*, the son of brother *Assicus*, and *Cipia*, the mother of *Betheus*, the bishop.

Assicus, the holy bishop, was brass-worker to Patrick, and made altars and book-cases,* which he made in plates, for the honour of Patrick the bishop, and also the three square plates† well finished, which I saw—that is to say, the plate for the church of Patrick, in Armagh, and another in the church of *Alofind*, and the third in the great church of *Saul*, beyond the altar of Saint *Felart*, the bishop.

Assicus fled to the northern country, to the stony mountain, and was seven years in the

* This alludes to those brazen cases, in which are found the books of Columb-kill, Dimma, and others.

† The patinæ, or sacramental salvers.

island called *Rockuill*, behind the stony mountain, and his monks went to seek him, and found him in a valley of the mountain engaged in the labours of his trade; his monks withdrew him thence, and he died amongst them, in the desert mountains; and they buried him in *Hirraith Chungai Hisertip*.

The king gave to him and to his monks, after his death, hay for one hundred cows, with their calves, and for twenty oxen, as a perpetual offering, because he said, "He would not return to the plain of *Ai*, because they told a falsehood;" his bones are in the plain of *Sered Hirraith Chungi*, with the monks of *Patrick*, but the monks of *Columb Cille*, and of *Aird Stratha*, contended for him.

Patrick then came from the fountain *Alofind addu* to *Mecham*, the grandson of *Ailellus*, and founded in that place a church, which is called *Senella cella Dumiche* to this day, where he left the holy men *Macet*, and *Cetgen*, and *Rodanus*, the priest.

And there came with him a daughter of a foreigner, named *Mathona*, sister of *Benignus*, the successor of Patrick, who took the veil by the hands of Patrick and *Rodanus*; she became

a recluse, and departed with them through the mountain of the sons of *Ailellus*, and she founded there a free church in *Hitamnuch*, and was honoured by God and man ; and she had great veneration for the reliques of Saint *Rodanus*, and his successors were feasted by her.

After this, they placed bishops in the holy church of *Hitamnuch*, whom the priests of *Patrick*, that is *Bronus* and *Betheus*, ordained. They sought nothing from the family of *Dumiche*, but friendship alone, but they demanded more from the family of *Clono*, because, by force, they kept many of the places which belonged to Patrick, after the death of the last possessors.* And then Saint Patrick came to the fountain, which is called *Clebach*, on the sides of *Crochan*, opposite the rising sun, and they settled themselves near the fountain ; and behold the two daughters of king *Loigaire*, *Ethne*, the fair, and *Fedelmnufa*, came in the morning to bathe after the manner of women, and they found the holy bishop *Senodus* with Patrick near the fountain. And they were ignorant whence they might be. Or of what form,

* Refused to comply with the bequests of deceased persons.

Or of what people,
Or of what country.

But they imagined that they were men of *Side*, or of the gods of the earth, or phantoms. The girls said to them, "Who are ye, and whence do you come?" And Patrick said to them, "Were it not better you should confess the true God, than to ask our race?"

The eldest daughter said, "Who is God? and where is God? and where is his dwelling? has your God sons and daughters, gold and silver? does he live for ever? is he handsome? has he many sons? are his daughters beautiful and beloved by the men of this world? is he in heaven or on earth?"

In the sea,
In the rivers,
In the mountains,
In the vallies;
Tell us his description,
How he can be seen,
How he is to be respected,
How he is to be found,
Whether in youth or age?

But, Saint Patrick answering, filled with the holy spirit, said, "Our God is the God of all

men, the God of heaven and earth, and of the sea, and of rivers ; the God of the sun, and of the moon, and of all the stars ; the God of the lofty mountains, and of the lower vallies ; God is above the heavens, and in heaven, and under heaven ; his habitation is above the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and all things which are therein :

He inspires all things,

He enlivens all things,

He overcomes all things,

He supports all things,

He enlightens the sun.

He strengthens the light of night and our knowledge—he made fountains in dry places, and dry islands in the sea, and he placed the stars for the office of greater lights. He has a son, who is coeternal with himself, nor is the son younger than the father, nor the father older than the son, and the holy spirit breathes in them ; the father, son, and holy spirit, are inseparable.

“ But I wish that ye were united to the heavenly king, as ye are the daughters of an earthly king.” And the girls said, “ If with one mouth and heart, we are able to believe the heavenly king, teach us most carefully that we may see him face to face, point him out to us ;

and we will do as you desire us." And Patrick said, "Do ye believe, that by baptism ye will cast away the sin of your father and mother?" They answer, "We believe." "Do you believe repentance after sin?" "We believe." "Do ye believe the life after death? Do ye believe the resurrection on the day of judgment?" "We do believe." "Do ye believe the unity of the church?" "We believe."

They were then baptized, and he placed a white dress on their heads.

And they requested to see the face of Christ, but the Saint said to them, "Unless ye taste of death, ye cannot see the face of Christ, and unless he receive your sacrifice."

And they answer, "Give us the sacrifice, that we may be able to see his son, our spouse." And they received them for the love of God, and when sleeping in death, they placed them in a little bed, covered with clothes, and they made lamentations.

And he came to the plain of *Caeri*, and they encamped at *Icuil Core*, and he founded a church in that place, and baptized many; and went thence to the plain of *Foinson*, and

he found there two brothers, sons of a man named *Coiliud*, the son of *Luchti*, the son of *Conlaid*, *Lucteus*, and *Dorelaid*, the latter sent his servant to slay Patrick.

But *Lucteus* delivered him, to whom Patrick said, "There shall be bishops and priests of your race, but as to the race of your brother, they shall be cursed, and shall fail in a short time; and he left in that place *Conanus* the priest.

And he departed to the fountain of *Strin-gille*, in the deserts, and remained there two Sundays, and departed thence to the plain of *Raithin*. He then went to the termination of *Humail Duachud Fobuir*, in which place bishops were ordained. There also, came to him a holy daughter, who took the veil at the hands of Patrick. And he ordained the son of *Senachus*, her father, and gave him a new name, that is *Agnus dei*, and made him a bishop.

And he made prayers to the father, that he should not sin thereafter, and should not be called by his name in that place, and that his own deficiency, arising from old age, should be supplied by the maturity of his

son's, *Oignus* by name, for whom he had written "*the father's primer*," on the day in which Senachus was ordained; because Patrick consecrated the church in that place, near *Mathona*, and he said to them, "There shall be good bishops here and their seed shall be blessed for ever in this church," that is, *Achad Fobuir*, and they accepted *the mass** of Patrick.

Patrick then proceeded to the mountain of *Egli*,† that he might fast there forty days and forty nights, according to the example of *Moses*, and *Helias*, and *Christ*. And his charioteer, *Himuirisce*, died at *Aigli*, that is the plain between the sea and *Aigli*; and they buried the charioteer naked, and collected stones for his tomb and said, "Let this be so for ever, and let it be visited even to the latest ages." And Patrick went to the summits of the mountain to the top of *Crochan Aigli*, and remained there forty days and forty nights, and large flocks of birds beset him, and he could not see the earth, or the sky, or the sea, for all the saints of Ireland being passed by, God said, that he would be present to

* Missam.

† *Croagh Patrick*.

them, "Go up, O holy men! the mountain which o'er tops, and is higher than all the mountains which lie to the west, to bless the people of Ireland, that Patrick may see the fruit of his labour, because the choir of all the Irish saints, came to him to visit their father." And he founded a church in the plain of *Humail*.

And he came to the regions of *Corcutemore*, to the fountain of *Sini*, where he baptized a thousand men, he also founded three churches in *Toga*.

And he came to the fountain of *Find maige*, which is called *Slan*, because it was indicated to him that the magi honoured this fountain, and made donations to it as gifts to God.

The fountain was square, and there was a square stone in the mouth of it, and the water came over the stone, that is, through the interstices, as of the trace of a king; and the unbelievers said, that a certain dead prophet made himself a study, in the water under the rock, that he might whiten his bones, for he feared to be burned with fire; for they worshipped the fountain like a God, which was unlawful in the eyes of Patrick, because of the

adoration, for he had a zeal for God—even for the living God.

He said, “It is not true, what ye say, that the king of waters is a fountain;” because they gave to him the name *water*, not king—and the magicians and the gentiles of that country, and a great multitude beside, were assembled at the fountain. And Patrick said to them, “Raise up the rock, let us see what is underneath, if there are bones or not, for I say unto you, that the bones of the man are not under; but I think there is some gold and silver, appearing through the joinings of the stones; from your wicked sacrifices,” and they could not lift the stone.

And Patrick blessed the stone and his servants, and said to the multitude, “Retire apart for a little, that ye may perceive the power of my God, who dwells in the heavens.” And he lifted the stone with expert hands from the mouth of the fountain, and he placed it where it now remains, and they found nothing in the fountain but water only, and they believed the supreme God. And there sat down, beside the stone, a little way off, a certain man named *Cata*, whom Patrick blessed, and he baptized him, and said to him, “Thy

seed shall be blessed for ever.” There was a little cell in *Tog*, in the country of *Corcuteimne*, belonging to *Patrick*—*Cainnechus* the bishop, a monk of *Patrick's*, founded it.

And Saint Patrick came through the plains into the countries of *Maicc Hercæ Indichuil*, and of *Aurchuil*, and Patrick came to *Indichuil*, to a tomb of great magnitude, and wonderful length, which his followers found, and which greatly astonished them, it extended 120 feet long. And they said, “We do not believe this affair, that the man was of the length.” Patrick answered, and said, “If ye will, ye shall see him.” And they said, “We would.” And he struck with his staff the stone near his head, and marked the tomb with the sign of the cross and said, * *

* * (*defaced in MS.*) * * and the tomb opened, and the huge saint arose quite sound, and said, “It is well, O holy man, thou hast revived me, and in one hour from all my afflictions,” * * *

* * (*defaced in MS.*) * * “We cannot wish that you should walk as we do, because the people cannot see your face through fear of you, but believe in God of heaven, and receive the baptism of the Lord,

and return not to what you were, and declare to us who you are."

" I am *Macc Maicc Cais maic Glais*, who one hundred years since this day, was a swine-herd of king *Lugirrig Hirotie* in *Galavatine*, *Flan macc maicc Con*, in the kingdom of *Coirpri nioth fer*." He was baptized, and made confession to God, and became again silent, and was replaced in his tomb.

And he came into the white plain, in the country of the posterity of *Maini*, and found there the sign of the cross of Christ, in two new sepulchres; and the Saint said from his chariot, " Who is it that is buried here?" and a voice answered from the sepulchre, " Behold ! I am a gentile man." The Saint answered, " Why is the holy cross fixed near you?" And he again replied, " Because the man, who is buried beside me, requested his mother to place the sign of the cross near his tomb; a stupid man, by mistake, placed it beside me." And Patrick leaped down from his chariot, and took hold of the cross, and pulled it from the grave of the gentile, and placed it at the head of the baptized man, and ascended into his chariot, and prayed to God

in silence. When he said, "*Deliver us from evil,*" his charioteer said to him, "Why did you call the unbaptized gentile?" "Because I mourn that the man should be without baptism; it were better to intreat God to bless him with baptism, and to pour the baptismal water upon the tomb of the deceased." And he did not answer him, for I think that he forsook him, because God did not wish to save him.

Let us return to our history. He came to *Pernuadam*, and behold the magicians, of the sons of *Amolngid*, heard that the Saint came into the country, a very great crowd of magicians assembled, with the chief magician, named *Recradus*, who wished to slay Patrick; and he came to them with nine magicians, clad in white garments, with a magical host. And Patrick, and *Endæus*, son of *Amolngid*, and *Conallus*, son of *Endæus*, saw him at a distance whilst Patrick was baptizing a great multitude, and when *Endæus* saw him, he rose and snatched up arms to repel the magicians, for they were distant from them on the other side of the water, a thousand paces; but Patrick sent *Conallus*, son of *Endæus*, to meet the magicians, that they, knowing him, might not slay them. The illustrious youth stood near the

magician, and behold Saint Patrick stood up, and raised his left hand to the God of heaven, and cursed the magician, and he fell dead in the midst of his magicians, and the crowd was scattered over the whole plain of *Domnon*, and he was burned before the face of all for a sign of vengeance, and all the people saw this miracle. He baptized many on that day, and ordained *Mucneus*, the brother of *Cathacus*, and gave him seven books of the law, which he left after him to *Macc Cerce*, the son of *Maic Dregin*. And he founded a church at the wood of *Fockloth*, in which are the bones of Saint *Mucneus*, the bishop, because God said to him, that he should leave the law and ordain priests and deacons in that region. And he blessed *Amolgid*, the son of *Fergusus*, the brother of *Endæus*, because in his country he had acted virtuously.

And behold a man, came to them, named *Macc Dregin*, with seven sons, gentiles, and required the baptism of God from Patrick, who blessed him and his sons; and chose one of them, whose name was *Macc Ercæ*, and he wrote lessons for him, and blessed him with the benediction of a father. And the father of the youth said, "I shall be grieved if my son should depart with you." And

Patrick said, "It shall not be so, but I will commend him to *Bronus*, the son of *Icnus*, and to *Olcanus*;" he stretched forth his hand, and pointed out to him a place near, in which are his bones, and marked it with his finger, and placed a cross there.

And two girls came to Patrick, and took the veil at his hand; and he blessed for them the place at the wood of *Fochloth*. And behold, Patrick went up to the land, which is called *Foirrgea*, of the sons of *Amolngid*, to divide it among the sons of *Amolngid*, and he built there a church, of moist earth squared, because wood was not at hand.

And they brought to him a sick woman, having an infant in her womb, and he baptized the child in its mother womb, with the water of baptism, *ipsa est aqua communis mulieris*; and they buried her in at the head of the church, and upon the grave is the seat of the Saint, in the church, even to the present day. And he built a certain church at Ross, among the family of *Caitru*, on an island of a bay of the sea.

And he returned to the river *Muiade Denec-trige*, in *Bertrigran*, and he erected there a

stone of the shape of the cross of Christ, and said, "Behold ! here shall be found water in the latter days, and it shall be inhabited by me." And he founded a church near the mound of *Rigbairt*, and he came to *Muirisc-sain*, to *Bronus*, the son of *Icnus*, and blessed his son, *Macc Rime*, afterwards the bishop, and he wrote *rules* for him and *Muirethaco*, the bishop, who was at the river *Bratho*.

And Patrick and *Bronus*, came to the shore of *Authnili*, into the territories of *Icnus*, and with them *Ercaë*, the son of *Dregin*, at the plain that is *Ros Drenige*, in which place is the cottage of *Bronus*, and sitting there *a tooth of Patrick fell out*, and he gave the tooth to *Bronus* for a relic.*

And he said, behold the sea lays before us, from this place, and ye will return by the river *Slíicichæ*† to the wood."

And he departed across the mountain of the sons of *Ailellus*, and he founded churches there, *Taemnach*, and *Ethenach*, and *Cell Angle*, and *Cell Senchuæ*.

* A tooth is still preserved in a silver and brass case at Cong, in the county of Mayo.

† Sligo.

And he departed to the country of *Calbrigi Tremaille*, and founded a church near *Druimleas*, and baptized many, and erected and founded a church on the plain of *Ailmaige*, that is, *Domnach Ailmaige*, because Patrick remained there three days and three nights.

And he proceeded to the plain of *Aine*, and built a church there, and returned to *Evoi*, and to the plain of *Cetni*.

He cursed the river, which is called *Niger Drobaicum*; because it afforded sport to the anglers, and they refused to give any fish to the Saint. But he blessed another river, which formerly had no fish.

And he cursed other rivers, that is, the river *Oingæ*, and *Sæle*, because two of his boys were drowned in them; this was done in commemoration of their virtue.

He also came to the plain of *Sereth*, across the river, between *Esruaid* and the sea, and founded the church of *Hirraith argi*; and he pitched his camp in the plain of *Sereth*. He found there a certain good man, of the race of *Laithron*, and baptized him and his infant son with him, who was called *Hinu*, or *Ineus*, be

cause his father placed him in the church on the hill where he was born, on the road coming down from the mountain with his father ; and he baptized the man's son, and wrote him a *primer*, and blessed him with the benediction of a bishop, who afterwards kept Saint *Assicus* with his monks in *Ard Roissen*, that is *Hirrath Congi*, in the plain of *Sereth*, in the time of the kings *Fergusus* and *Fothuid*.

And he founded a church in the plain of *Latrain*, and the great church *Sier Drommo*, which the family of *Dairinise* possessed, in *Doburbur*. He advanced to *Forburnas*, of the sons of *Conill*, in the plain of *Itho*, and having founded there a great church, he departed to the plain of *Fochuir*, and erected a church there. In that place a certain bishop came to him of the race of *Corcutheisne*, from the cell of *Toch*, in the country of *Temenrigi Iceru*, opposite the setting sun, with one sister, and became a monk of *Patrick*, and their place is with the family of *Clono*, and the men of that place lamented.

Patrick passed the *Shannon* three times, and completed seven years in the western quarter, and came from the plain of *Tochuir*, to *Dulo Ocheni*, and founded seven churches there.

And he came to *Ardstrath*, and ordained *Macc Ercœ*, a bishop. He departed to *Ardd Eolorgg*, and *Ailgi*, and *Lee Benndrigi*, and crossed the river *Bandœ*, and he blessed the place in which is the cell of *Cuill Raithin*, in *Eilniu*, in which *there was a bishop*, and he formed other cells in *Eilniu*, and proceeded through the river *Breas*, and stopped in *Duin Sebuirgi*, on the rock, which is called *Patrick's rock* to this day. He ordained there Saint *Olcanus*, a bishop, whom Patrick brought up, and gave him a part of the *reliques of Peter and Paul, and of other apostles*, and the cloth which kept the reliques, and returned to the plain of *Elmi*, and he founded many other churches, which the *Coindiri* possess.

He ascended the mountain of *Miss*, where, when in slavery, he had educated *Gosacht*, the son of *Milcon Maccuboin*, and his two sisters, but taught them secretly, under the injunction of an oath, for fear of the magician. But one night the magician *Milwicc* saw sparks of fire from the mouth of the foolish *Succetus*, ascending to the lips of his son, and the whole body of his son was inflamed, and from the mouth of his son, it communicated to that of his sisters. "Why,"

says he, "O slave! have you done this evil to my son?"

Succetus replied, "Sir, what did you see?" he answered, "The mouth of my son filled with fire, and my son filled the lips of my daughters, and they were all consumed to ashes, and their ashes enlivened many, and the fire issued from their mouths in flakes like the flight of birds, and could not be restrained.

Succetus answered, "Truly, they could not avoid that extraordinary magical appearance, because I put into their mouths the words of my supreme God." And he departed to the mountain *Scirte*, to the place of the rock, on which he saw an angel of God standing, and the print of his foot remains almost to this day. When he was ascending into heaven, with his feet extended from one mountain to another, he said, "Behold! thy ship is prepared, arise and walk." And the Saint came through *Doim*, into the country of *Tuirtri*, to Patrick's hill,* and baptized the sons of *Tuirtri*.

Having left *Macha*, he came to *Maugdorrne*,

* Armagh.

and ordained *Victoricus*, a bishop of *Machia*, and founded there a great church; and he proceeded to *Loigaire* and *Conall*, the sons of *Neill*.

But having completed his rounds, he departed, and built a church for *Justanus*, near to *Bile Tortin*, which belongs to the family of *Ardbreccain*, and built another at *Hitortena*, in the east, where the people of *Othig Cerpani* were always free.

And he proceeded to the territories of the *Leinsterians* to *Druimm Hurchaille*, and built there a house for martyrs, which is so called, it is situated on the great road in a valley, and the rock of Patrick is here by the way side. He departed to the plain of *Lifi*, and formed there a church, and ordained the boy *Auxilius*, the exorcist of Patrick, and *Esernina*, and *Mac-tadeus* in the cell of *Cuilin*. He ordained *Feccus Albus*, at *Slepten*, and baptized the sons of *Dunlinge*, and proceeded through *Belut Gabrain*, and founded the church of *Hirroigniu Martorthige*, and baptized the sons of *Nioth Truich Iternumiæ*, at the rock of *Hicoithrigi Hicassuil*.

These are the three prayers of Patrick, as they were delivered to us by the *Hibernians*, entreating that all should be received on the day of judgment, if we should repent even in the last days of our life.

1. That he should not be shut up in hell.
2. That barbarian nations should never have the rule over us.
3. That no one shall conquer us, that is the *Scots*, before seven years previous to the day of judgment, because seven years before the judgment we shall be destroyed in the sea, this is the third.

The age of Patrick, as is recorded to us, is computed beneath :

In his seventh year he was baptized.
 In his tenth year he was captured.
 For four years he suffered slavery.
 For thirty years he studied.
 For seventy two years he taught.
 Sum total of his age one hundred and twenty.

In four points Patrick he resembled Moses :
 1st. He heard an angel from a bush on fire.

- 2d. He fasted forty days and forty nights.
- 3d. Because he accomplished 120 years in this present life
- 4th. Where his bones are, no one knows.

Two enemies for twelve days contended for the body of Saint Patrick, and they saw not night for that space of time, but the day was perpetual, and on the twelfth day they came to battle, and the two armies saw the body in a couch between them, and ceased from fighting. *Columb cille*, instigated by the spirit of the saint, pointed out a burial place for Patrick, where he lies, that is to say, in *Sabul Patricii*,* that is in the church near the sea, (for the eleventh) where is the passage of the martyrs, that is the haven of the man *Columb cille*, from Britain, and the passage for all the saints of Ireland, on the day of judgment.

In the thirteenth year of *Theothosius* the emperor, Patrick the bishop, was sent by bishop *Celestine*, pope of Rome, for the instruction of the Irish, which *Celestine* was the forty-second bishop of the apostolical see of the city of Rome after Peter.

* The monastery of Saul.

Palladius the bishop, was the first sent, *who is otherwise called Patrick*, and suffered martyrdom among the *Scots*, as the antient saints relate. Then the second *Patrick* was sent by an angel of God, named *Victor*, and by pope *Celestine*, by whose means all Ireland believed, and who baptized almost all the inhabitants.

Saint Patrick ought to be honoured on four accounts by all the monasteries and churches through the whole of Ireland; that is to say,

- I. For the solemnity of his dreams; he should be honoured in the middle of spring for three days and three nights with feasting, beside meat as a sacrifice, as if Patrick himself came during his life.
- II. His offering should be offered up on the same day.
- III. His hymn should be sung for ever.
- IV. His Irish psalm should be sung for ever.

Thus, all these four should be held in honour and considered by his monks, for him who founded their church or monastery, and who possess a parish and much ground.

This breviary of the people ends :—

Of the name,	Of the writings,
Of the genealogy,	Of the industry,
Of the childhood,	Of the curses against
Of the captivities,	sinners,
Of the virtues,	Of the blessings to-
Of the Christian sla-	wards the pious,
very,	Of the age of Patrick,
all which he did by the assistance of God,	
are here brought together, and collected by	
very learned antients.	

Here begin some few things, which were discovered at a later period, and which shall be related in their proper places. They have been collected by the curiosity of his successors, and by diligence and sanctity, which were excited for the honour and praise of God, and for the pleasing memory of Saint Patrick, down to the present day.

But, when Patrick, after his holy voyage had reached Ireland ; he left Saint *Lommanus*, in the harbour of *Boindio*, to keep his ship for forty days and forty nights, and then remained another forty days in obedience to Patrick.

Then, according to the command of his master, he went up in his ship even to the ford of *Trim*, against the stream to the gate of the tower of *Fedilmedus*, the son of *Loigaire*, the Lord directing him.

But in the morning *Foirtchean*, the son of *Fedelmedus*, found *Lommanus* reciting the gospel, and admiring it, and his doctrine, immediately believed, and water being convenient in that place, he was baptized by *Lommanus*, in the name of Christ—and remained there with him until his mother came to seek him. She wept in his presence, for she was a Briton; and she believed also, and returned to her house, and related to her husband all that had happened to her and her son. And *Fedelmedus*, wept at the coming of the priest, for his mother was the only daughter of the king of the Britons, one *Scothnoesa*. But, *Fedelmedus* suspected *Lommanus*, inquiring from him in the British language, to ascertain his faith and family. He answered him, “I am *Lommanus*, a Briton, and the Christian foster-child of Patrick, the bishop, who was sent by the Lord, to baptize the people of the Irish, and to convert them to the faith of Christ, who sent me hither according to the will of God.” And forthwith *Fedelmedus*

believed, with all his family, and he gave as an offering to him and to Saint Patrick, his possessions together with his property, and with all his offspring. All these he gave as an offering to Patrick and *Lommanus* with *Foirtchern* his son, even to the day of judgment.

But he passed over to *Fedlinoid*, across the river *Boindeo*, and remained in *Cloin Lagen*, and *Lommanus* remained with *Foirtchean* at *Trim*, until Patrick arrived, and built for them a church twenty-two years before the church of *Altimacha* was founded.

The progeny of *Lommanus*, of the Britons, was one son *Gollitus*. The mother of Patrick was related to *Lommanus*, as were the following bishops *Hiforgnidi*, and *Lacnircnius*.

Broccaid, in *Imbluich* of the horses, at *Ciar rige Connact*, *Broccanus Imbrechmig*, among the posterity of *Dorthim Cnugenoc Hicill Dumigluinn* in *Deisciurt Breg*.

The foregoing is all about Patrick's own family, and what relates to his relations, and to his grace and baptism, and doctrine, and concerning the lands, churches, and all the

grants or oblations which he acquired for ever.

But after some time setting out, he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Lommanus*, with his foster-son *Foirtchean*, to his brother *Broccidius*, he and his foster-child went to salute his brother—and he commended his holy church to Saint Patrick and to *Foirtchean*, but *Foirtchean* refused to possess the inheritance of his father ; for he offered it to God and Patrick, until *Lommanus* said, “ You shall not receive my blessing unless you receive the government of my church.” But after the death of his master he held the government for three days, until he came to the ford of *Trim*, and then immediately gave it to *Cathlaidus*, a foreigner.

These are the ecclesiastical offerings of *Fedelmedus*, the son of *Loigaire*, to Saint Patrick, *Lommanus*, and *Foirtchean*, that is, the ford of *Trim*, in the territories of *Loigaire Brieg*, in the country of *Loigaire Midi*.

The progeny of *Fedelmedus* :

Foirtchernus, his son, father of
Aod Magnus, father of

Aod Parvus, father of
Donall, father of
Baitan, father of
Ossan, father of
Cummene, father of
Saran.

All these were bishops and chiefmen, who venerated Saint Patrick and his successors, but his plebeian progeny is as under :

Fergus, the son of *Fedelmith*,
Feredach, the son of *Fergus*,
Cronan, the son of *Feredach*,
Saran, the son of *Cronan*,
Failan, the son of *Saran*,
Failnad, the son of *Failan*,
Forfailed, the son of *Failnad*,
Segene, the son of *Forfailed*,
Sochnassach, the son of *Segene*.

St. Patrick, when ascending to heaven, commanded all the fruits of his labour, arising both from baptism and alms, to be brought to the apostolic city, which in the Scottish language is called *Ardmacha* ; I found it thus stated in the books of the Scots. I, that is to say *Calvus Perennis*, wrote this in the sight of *Brian*, Em-

peror of the Scots, and what I wrote he confirmed for all kings, with his seal of wax.*

Colman the bishop, offered his church of *Cluaincain*, in *Achud*, to Patrick, as a votive offering for ever, and he commended him to the holy men, the priests *Medb*, and *Sadb*.

The sons of *Tiechrach*, gave the plain in the north, between *Gleori* and *Ferni*, with the slaves therein, as an offering to Patrick for ever.

Likewise, the seven sons of *Doath*, that is, *Cluain*, *Findglais*, and *Insruth*, *Culcais*, *Deruthmar*, *Culcais*, and *Cennlocho*, faithfully made offerings to God and Saint Patrick.

Also, the sons of *Conlaid*, offered as an oblation to God and Saint Patrick for ever, eight *pondera campi*, that is eight heifers of the plain, in their inheritance, that is in *Ca-*

* This passage is written in a more modern hand than the rest of MS. The *Brian Emperor of the Scots* there mentioned, was *Brian Boiroidhe*, who, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, was a week at *Armagh*, in A. D. 1004, and made an offering of twenty ounces of gold on the altar there.

chindlea, Odibcarnib, even to the mountain of Cairnn.

All these offerings of the kings at *Ciarrichi*, were made to Patrick for ever.

Saint Patrick foreseeing, through the holy spirit, that his congregations in *Kerry*, were much dispersed, that is the bishops *Sachellus, Brocidius, and Loarnus*, and the priests *Medb and Emas*, he joined them by his blessing as well in the unity of eternal peace, *as in one ceremony of faith*, under the authority of his successor in the apostolic chair at *Altimacha*.

Binean, the son of *Lugni*, the scribe, a priest, and also an achorite, was son of the daughter of *Lugaithin Netach*, who gave the inheritance he was entitled to, on his mother's side, in which he founded a church consecrated to God, and given as an offering to Patrick.—Saint Patrick marked out for him the site with his staff, and he then first received the *body and blood of Christ*, and afterwards *Binean*, received from him the step, (of consecration) and he blessed him and left him after him in his place.

Patrick coming to the territories of *Cabrigi*,

baptized the son of *Cairthir* and *Caichan*, when he baptized them the sons of *Cairthir* and *Caichan*, offered the fifth part of *Caichan* to God and Patrick, and the king afterwards confirmed the gift. These are the denominations of the fifth part *Coicid*, *Cai-chain*, *Otha glais*, *Telchæ*, *Berich*, *Abraidne*, *Conricc*, *Forcuisin*, *Tuilgos*, *Disleb*, *Otha glais*, *Conacolto*, *Curreirui*, and *Otha*, *Crich*, *Drommoint*, *Cuglais*, *Tamlachta*, *Dublocho*, *Lagglais*, *Cugrenlaich*, *Fotelaront*, *Timmchell*, *Nasanto*, *Casecen*, *Indacor*, *Asescumdacor*, *Ludescert*, *Lenilafur*, *Conrici nuocht*, *Nomomme*, *Condaircu mor*, *Condaircumedoin*, *Condaircu fidas*, *Condaircumeil*, *Condruim*, *Toidached*, *Laglais*, *Conrici*, *Conaclid*, *Atropert*, *Flaith*, and *Aithech*, *Insohuile*, *Itosuch*, *Iartabuirt*, *Benthis*, *Duarb*.

Patrick afterwards erected houses in *Drum-daro*, i. e. *Drumlías*, where he left his holy disciple *Benignus*, with seventeen monks. He also gave the veil to the learned *Lasaringhen*, who survived *Benignus* sixty years.

The following are the rights and privileges of *Fetho-fi*, established two years before the death of the two monks of *Dromlías*, viz.:—That none should inherit in *Dromlías*, but the descendants of *Fetho-fi*, they should be good,

devout, just and moral, and inclined to enter among the monks of *Dromlias*, and diligently inclined to observe the works of the *people of Patrick* there.

Nao and *Nai*, sons of the brother of Patrick, and *Daall*, the son of *Heucair*, whom Patrick left there, gave as an offering *Adopart*, *Teoraleth*, *Indli*, *Treathir*, to Patrick for ever; and *Conderc* the son of *Daall*, offered his son to Patrick.

In the morning *Teoralethindli*, offered three ——— and his son *Mac Rimæ*, and Patrick baptized them, and built a church in their inheritance, and *Coirpre*, with them, offered his kingdom to Patrick.

Erniu goes to *Cummin*, to *Ailigh*, and to *Erniu* of *Tir Gimmall*, and *Maine Buachall*, and *Taimnigh*; with those three monks there went into this country *Culla* and *Bratha*.

Cummin and *Breatan* devoted an eighth part of their property with their lands both wood and plain, their meadows, inclosures, and gardens. To *Cummin*, also belonged half (the profits of) the doors of the church of these inclosures, where gifts were brought, viz.:

three ingots (or ounces) of silver, a bar of silver, and a collar, three ounces of old gold of the dishes of their ancestors, half an ounce for their sons, half an ounce for their sheep, and they paid half an ounce for old vases. The congregation of *Cummin* agreed that *Laghagh*, son of *Maclora*, lord of *Crimthanne*, should have the government, the spiritual superintendence was in *Colman*, of the *Britons*. For a cumal of sacred silver was for the payment of the eighth of their proportion.

Patrick and *Iserninus* were with *Germanus*, in the city of *Olsiodra*, and *Germanus* said to *Iserninus*, that he should go to preach in Ireland, he was ready to obey even to whatever part he might be sent, except to Ireland.

Germanus said to Patrick, "Will you be obedient?" Patrick said, "Let it be as you wish." *Germanus* said, "This shall be between us, and *Iserninus* shall not be able to refuse going to Ireland."

Patrick came to Ireland, but he sent *Iserninus* to another part, but a contrary wind detained him in the *right side* of Ireland.

They went afterwards to convert a people

of little reputation, named the *Criuthrighe*, (*Picts*) and then proceeded until they arrived at *Temchuile*, where they left one of their holy men. Then to *Rathpalaseigh*, where they left another, and then they proceeded to *Latragh-do-aradh*, in *Ibh May*, where came to him the seven sons of *Cathbhoth*, to whom they preached, and believing they were baptized, and they went with them to settle under the protection of *Enna-Kinsela*. Bishop *Fizel* went with them in a boat apart from the rest. Afterwards Patrick and the seven sons of *Dunlang*, believed in him. They went to *Crimthan*, son of *Enna Kinsela*, and he believed.

Some people sinned by falling into neglect of Patrick, so that *Cathbhadh* and *Iserninus* despised them. The sons of *Cathbhadh* went home, and afterwards they went to meet Patrick and *Crimthan* at Sciath Patrick.

Going from *Gabhain Liffey*, by way of *Fothart*, in this affair of *Enna*, they came into *Leinster*; *Iserninus* and his monks submitted to Patrick, and craved forgiveness. Patrick gave them to bishop *Fiech*, and to the sons of *Cathbhadh*, who took possession of a portion of the fields of *Fothart*.

Patrick went from *Tara* into the territory of *Leinster*, and met with *Dubhthach*, son of *Lughain*, at *Donoghmore*, who had been requested by *Enna Kinsela*, to leave one of his disciples, a Leinster man, a man without reproach, of noble family, and free from blemish, *and a man with but one wife*, as a bishop at *Lis Patrick*, *Dubhthach* answered, there is but one I can vouch for on all those points, and that man is *Fiach Finn*, the Leinster man, who parted from me in *Connaught*. Whilst they were speaking *Fiach Finn* approached them.

34 *Dubhthach* took *Fiach Finn*, and presented him to Patrick, and solicited him to confer on him the order of a bishop, which he did accordingly, after having baptized him, and set him up as *chief bishop of Leinster*, and he gave him a bell, a mitre, a crozier, and a cloak, (pallium) and he left with him seven of his people.

Muchade of Inisfail,
Augustin of Inisbeg,
Teachain,
Dermott,
Naindedh,
Paul and
Fedlimith.

Afterwards he built *Domnagh Fiech*, and remained there until sixty of his people died. An angel then appeared to *Fiech*, and said, " You should go to the west, thy resurrection will be at *Coolmoy*, a place where deer and swine abound, where you should found your churches."

Fiech replied, " I shall obey Patrick, if he commands I shall go, if not, I shall refuse." After Patrick went to *Fiech* and absolved him, and blessed him and his holy companions. *Crimthan* gave that house in *Slievard* to Patrick, who had baptized him.

Saachnall went to visit Patrick in a chariot, and proceeding took him with him, and went accompanied by an angel from *Ruan* to *Manchan*, and stopping there three nights, went to *Fiech*, to establish and consecrate his church, and the angel said, it is given to you, *Fiech*, from Patrick, *as thy infirmities are removed*.

Aidus, bishop of *Sliebhte*, sent his instructions*

* *Instruction*, or *information*, or *collections*, evidently meaning this book, which had been written at the dictation of *Aidus*, and continued so many centuries afterwards with the archbishops of *Armagh*.

he had made to *Segenius* at *Armagh*, who desired him to (alter) *change the instructions*; but *Aidus* said, he dedicated his instruction and his people, and his church, to Patrick for ever. *Aidus* left his instruction with *Conchad*, who went to *Ardmagh*, so that *Flan Febla* gave him his church, and he afterwards died.

Here end a few things which have been written in the Scottish language more accurately, not because I could not write in Latin, but because these stories can be understood with difficulty even in their own Scottish tongue, but if they were related through the Latin language, one would not only be doubtful with respect to their translation, but ignorant also, of what he was reading, or what language he was pronouncing, from the abundance of Scottish names having no corresponding signification (in the Latin).

Scripsi hunc ut librum pulsare conetur
 Omnis quicumque legerit ut evadere pœna
 Ad cælum valeam et ad summi præmia regni
 Patricio dominum pulsante habitare perævum.

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

SUMMARY OF AIDUS.

MANY people have endeavoured to relate to me, Aidus, what they had learned from their fathers, and from those who were their servants, of the story of St. Patrick, which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors, *but on account of the diverse opinions and suspicions of most people, and the great difficulty of ascertaining the true narration, they have never attained in this matter any certain track or path of history.* So that, unless I am deceived, (as according to our proverb, boys are brought into the amphitheatre) in this deep and dangerous sea of holy narration, the mountainous waves of the whirlpools of which, impatiently swelling among sharp rocks, situated in seas, as yet unknown to all but our (heavenly) father, *it can scarcely be said that I have brought down the narrative,* tried and used as a child's boat, by the impulse of my oar. Yet, that I may not be said to have deduced a great deal from a little—I shall with reluctance, endeavour to explain, sum-

marily and charitably, in obedience to the command of your sanctity and authority, these few, selected from the many actions of St. Patriok, which I have perceived, *my knowledge being small, my authors doubtful, my memory treacherous, and what is the worst of all, the common tradition of the country being against me.*

Concerning the birth of Saint Patrick, and his first captivity.

Concerning his journeys and sea voyage to the gentiles, and his sufferings among the nations ignorant of God.

Concerning his second capture which he suffered for sixty days from hostile men.

Concerning his reception by his parents when they recognized him.

Concerning his age when going to visit the apostolic see, where he wished to learn wisdom.

Concerning his discovery of holy men in Gaul, and that, therefore, *he went no farther.*

Concerning his age when an angel visited and directed him to come here. (*i. e.* to Ireland.)

Concerning his return from the Gauls, and the ordination and death of *Palladius* shortly after.

- Of Patrick's ordination by king *Amathus*,
Palladius, the priest, being deceased.
- Of thé gentile king (living) in Temoria,
when St. Patrick came bringing baptism.
- Of his first journey to this island to ran-
som himself, before *O'Miliuc* should
draw others to the devil.
- Of the death of *Miliuc*, and the saying
Patrick, concerning his descendants.
- Of the counsel of St. Patrick at Hessitum.
- Of the celebration of the first Easter.
- Of the first oblation made in Easter in
this island.
- Of the heathen festival in Temoria on the
same night on which St. Patrick cele-
brated Easter.
- Of the going of king *Loigaire* from Te-
moria to Patrick, on the night of Easter.
- Of the calling of Patrick to the king, and
of the faith of *Eirc*, son of *Dego*, and
the death of the magician on that night.
- Of the anger of the king and his people
with Patrick, and of thé punishment of
God upon them, and of the transfigura-
tion* of Patrick before the gentiles.

* Transfuctione.

Of the coming of Patrick on the day of Easter to Temoria, and of the faith of *Dubthaeh Macculugir*.

Of the conflict of Patrick with the magician in that place, and of his own wonderful virtues.

Of the conversion of *Loigaire*, the king, and afterwards of his whole kingdom, by the word of St. Patrick.

Of the doctrine, and baptism, and miracles of St. Patrick, after the example of Christ.

Of *Mae Cuill*, and his conversion at the sayings of St. Patrick.

Of the fable of *Daire*, and of the horse, and the oblation of Armagh to Patrick.

Of the people labouring on the Lord's day, contrary to the command of Patrick.

Of a fruitful land becoming a salt-marsh, by the word of St. Patrick.

Of the death of *Moneisen*, the Saxon.

Of this, that Saint Patrick saw heaven opened, and the Son of God, and his angels.

Of the conflict of St. Patrick against *Coirthech*, king of Aloas.

These few things concerning the knowledge

of St. Patrick and his virtues, *Muirchu*, the son of *Cumacthenus*, wrote after the dictation of *Aidus*, bishop of the city of Slepten.

The angel, high priest of the Lord, communicated to St. Patrick the bishop, the reverence due to his apostolic chair, and the peculiar honour of his successors, wisely granted to him by God above all the Scots.

BOOK OF THE ANGEL.

The book of the angel begins in this manner:

Therefore, Saint Patrick piously proceeded to baptize, teach, and heal a multitude of both sexes of the inhabitants of the city of Armagh, at the fountain in the eastern part of the city, near *Herente*.

And there before day, he awaited many from all sides or parts, flocking together at the announcement of his preaching the faith—suddenly then sleep seized on him, because he was previously wearied with nocturnal watchings for Christ.

And behold, an angel suddenly appeared to him from heaven, and raised him up from sleep—and St. Patrick said, “I am ready, if I have lately done any thing wrong in the sight of the Most High, to seek pardon from God.”

The angel answered, “No—but the highest, the Almighty, sent me to you, first for the preservation of your own soul, and secondly, for the conversion of the Irish to him and the faith, by your means, which you have acquired through the hardest labour, and under the favour of the holy spirit by your preaching, which is very clear and profitable to all nations, since you were most laborious at all times, in many dangers from the gentiles, through cold and heat, hunger and thirst,—walking actively from nation to nation, for the advantage of many. The Lord God, therefore, knows that your present situation, which we see placed on high, is a cell too narrow and contracted for the number which inhabit the countries, and that your house in the suburbs will not suffice for a retreat for all—therefore, a very extensive boundary is appointed by the Lord, to the city of Altimacha, which you have preferred before all the lands of the Irish, that is, from the first part of the mountain

Berbicis, even to the mountain *Miss*—from the mountain *Miss* to *Bri Erigi*, even to the baek of *Breg*; surely, if you wish it, it shall be of this magnitude; and the Lord God has given you all the nations of the Scots, after the manner of a parish, and this is your city, which is called in the language of the Scots, Armagh.”

Saint Patrick, having prostrated himself before the angel, said, “I give thanks to God, my everlasting Lord, who has graciously thought his servant worthy to receive such great glory.”

The holy man also said, “My holy Lord, I foresee that there will be some chosen by thy holy spirit in this island, through the ineffable goodness of thy clemency, to be thy preaching orators, dear to me, as if sprung from my own body; friends, also, and devoted servants of thine, but who will require some particular diocese for themselves, for the purpose of necessary attendance in their churches, or monasteries, after me. Therefore, I ought rightly and justly to send down, so much of my abundance, as a gift in common, bestowed by me, upon the sincerely religious in Ireland—so that both I and they may peacefully enjoy the advantage of the goodness of God, the

divine donation having been granted me for this purpose."

He also says, "whatever Christian men may devoutly wish to offer to me from their lands and oblations, by their own free will, Does not this suffice me?"

Likewise, should I not be content to be an apostolic doctor and chief leader among all nations of the Scots, especially since I retain a peculiar tribute daily committed to me, and even that was given to me from the highest, but correctly, due above other free churches of the provinces of this island; without any doubt, this right will be decreed to the primate of Armagh for ever.

Let there also be a proper reception of the archbishop, the successor to the chair of my city, with his companions to the number of fifty, besides pilgrims, and those who were afflicted with various complaints, and the unsound persons and others, and a fit and proper refreshment for each of that number, as well in the day time as in the night.

But in that city of Altimacha, the religious Christians of both sexes, from their first pro-

fessing, until they receive the sacrament, should dwell separately with their respective orders, that is, virgins, penitents, and those observing the lawful marriage of the church.

And to these three orders it is granted to hear the word, by preaching, in the church of the northern part of the city on Sundays.

But in the eastern part, in the palace of the bishop, both the priests and hermits of the church, and other religious persons, offer up acceptable praises.

We will now speak of the special reverence of Armagh, and of the honour due to the primate of that city.

That city, indeed, was constituted free and the chief by the angel of God, and especially granted to that apostolic man, holy Patrick, the bishop.

He presides, therefore, by this privilege, over all the churches and monasteries of the Scots, even by the highest authority of the most exalted prelate, their founder; who also,

ought to be venerated with the honour of the chief martyrs, Peter and Paul, Stephen, Laurence, and the rest.

By how much, therefore, the more ought his actions to be greatly venerated and honoured by all.

And that we should admire the goodness of God in all things, there is preserved in that holy place the most sacred blood of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the human race, in the sacred cloth, together with the reliques of the saints in the eastern church, where the bodies of the pilgrims rest for a long time with Patrick, and the bodies of those who lived beyond the sea, and of other just men.

Therefore, it is not lawful, by reason of the afore-mentioned authority, that any prelate, abbot, or other person of any of the churches of the Scots, should appeal from the decision of him and his successors, for he has the jurisdiction, if cause should require it, over all the bishops and churches of the Scots.

And that his successors ought to rule over every free church and city, seems to be established according to the episcopal degree, in

all the island of the Scots, and in every place which is called the Lord's, by the clemency of the Almighty, according to the words of the angel, as the special society of holy Patrick the bishop, and the successor of his church of Armagh, because the Lord gave him the whole island as we have before mentioned.

* We ought also to know, that a monk of any church, if he should return to Patrick, ought not to deny his monkish vow, especially if he should devote himself by the consent of the abbot, his superior.

Therefore, he is not to be censured nor excommunicated, whoever shall have come to his church for the sake of the love of Patrick, because he will *judge all the Scots on the great day of awful judgment in the presence of Christ.*

Item—Of the honour of the primate of Armagh, the bishop presiding in the chair, the chief shepherd.

* The meaning of this seems to be, that a monk leaving his own monastery to transfer himself to Armagh, shall be allowed to do so, but is not thereby released from his vows.

If he, the before-mentioned bishop, shall come in the evening, to the place in which he was to be received, let him be supplied, for one turn, with a refection, worthy his rank, for himself, and also for his followers, to the number of one hundred, with food for them and their beasts of burden, beside the guests and the infirm, and those boys who carry incense during church service, and others, as well lay persons as others.

Likewise he who will not receive the before mentioned prelate with the said hospitality, and open his house to him ; let him be compelled to supply, in like manner, seven garments,* and to seven years penance.

Also, whoever shall despise or spoil the holy ensigns of the same *Agii*, that is, those of Patrick, shall pay double the damage.

But, if from the contempt of others, any one shall rescue the church property, let him receive *duas ancillas*, from the consecrated property of the said primate Patrick.

Also, whoever in like manner, through de-

* Ancillas.

ceit, injury, or wickedness, shall have committed any evil against his family or parish, or shall have despised the before-mentioned emblems; the whole shall be brought to trial before and under the jurisdiction of the same prelate of Armagh, who shall properly decide, the other judges being passed over.

Likewise, if a cause shall have arisen so difficult, and above the capability of the judges, it ought properly to be referred to the chair of the archbishop of the Scots, that is, Patrick, and for the examination of this prelate.

But, if in such a case, it cannot be decided by the wise men, we decree that such a cause before mentioned, shall be transmitted to the apostolic chair, that is, to the chair of authority of the apostle Peter, at the city of Rome.

Those are the persons who have decreed thus—that is, *Auxilius*, *Patrick*, *Secundinus*, and *Benignus*. After the death of St. Patrick, his disciples compiled and wrote his works.

The foundation of his address on each Sunday in Altimacha, at the tomb of the martyrs,

and at his return from them, that is, "O Lord, I have called unto thee even to the end."

Between Saint Patrick, of the Irish, and Bridget and Columba, a friendship of love took place, so great, that they had but one heart and design—by their means much good was accomplished for the cause of Christ.

The holy man, therefore, says to the Christian virgin, "O my Bridget, your parish, in your province shall be considered your kingdom, in the eastern and western part, your authority shall be supported by me."

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

THE CONFESSION OF ST. PATRICK, OR HIS EPISTLE TO THE IRISH.

I, PATRICK, a sinner, the rudest, the least, and the most insignificant of the faithful, had *Calphurnius*, a deacon, for my father, who was the son of *Potitus*, heretofore a priest, the son of *Odissus*, who lived in the village of *Banavem Tabernie*. For he had a little farm adjacent, where I was captured. I was then almost sixteen years of age ; but I knew not God, and was led into captivity by the Irish, with many thousand men, as we deserved, because we estranged ourselves from God, and did not keep his laws, and were disobedient to our pastors, who admonished us with respect to our salvation : and the Lord brought down upon us the anger of his spirit, and dispersed us amongst many nations, even to the extremity of the earth, where my meanness was conspicuous amongst foreigners, and where the Lord discovered to me a sense of my un-

belief; that late I should remember my transgressions, and that I should be converted with my whole heart to the Lord my God, who had respect to my humiliation, and pitied my youth and ignorance, even before I knew him, and before I was wise, or could distinguish between right and wrong, and strengthened me, and cherished me, as a father would a son.

From which time I could not remain silent, nor, indeed, did he cease to bless me with many acts of kindness; and so great was the favor he thought me worthy, in the land of my captivity: for this is my retribution, that, after my rebuking, punishment, and acknowledgement of God, I should exalt him, and confess his wonderful acts before every nation which is under the whole heaven; because there is no other God, nor ever was before, nor will be after him, except God, the unbegotten Father, without beginning, from whom is every beginning, possessing all things (as we have said), and his Son Jesus Christ, whom we bear witness was always with the Father, before the formation of the world, in spirit (or spiritually) with the Father, inexpressibly begotten before all beginning, through whom visible things were made, he became man,

having overcome death, and was received into heaven. And God has given to him all power "above every name, as well of the inhabitants of heaven, as of the earth, and powers below, that every tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord and God," whom we believe, and whose coming we expect, as presently about to be judge of the living and dead, who will render unto every man according to his actions, and has poured upon us, abundantly, the gift of his Holy Spirit, and, the pledge of immortality; who makes us, who believe, and are obedient, to be the sons of God, and joint-heirs of Christ, whom we believe and adore, one God in the trinity of the sacred name. For he spoke by the prophet, "*Call upon me in the day of tribulation, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.*" And again, he says, "*It is an honourable thing to reveal and confess the works of God.*"

Although in many points I am imperfect, I wish that my condition (or nature) should be known by my brethren and kindred, that they may be able to digest the desire of my life. I am not ignorant of the testimony of my Lord, who declares in the Psalm, "*Thou shalt destroy those who speak lies;*"—and again, "*The mouth which lieth shall lose its life.*"—

And the same Lord, "*For every idle word which men shall utter, for that shall they render an account in the day of judgment.*" On which account, I ought with fear and trembling to dread this sentence on that day, when no one can withdraw or hide himself—but we are all together to render an account, even of our slightest errors before the judgment-seat of the Lord Christ.

Wherefore, I formerly thought to write, but hesitated until now. For I feared, lest I should fall into the censure of men, because I did not learn as others, who being taught in the best manner, therefore rightly, both drank in sacred learning, and never changed their language from childhood, but rather constantly added to its perfection. For my language and speech is translated into a foreign tongue, as can be easily observed from the homeliness of my style of writing; (*ex saliva scripturæ meæ*) like as I was taught and instructed in sermons, because the wise man says, "*by the tongue is distinguished both sense and science, and the doctrine of truth.*" But what avails an excuse, although true, especially with presumption? So far as I, myself, only desire in my old age, to confirm what I before took a survey of, and what I did not consider as

being sins which beset me in my youth.—But if any one will believe me, and if I shall say (what I have before declared) when a young man, nay, almost a beardless boy, I was captured, before I knew what to seek, or what I ought to avoid. From which cause I blush to-day, and greatly dread to expose my ignorance, because I cannot explain with brevity and precision, as the spirit rejoices, and the influenced mind and disposition point out. But if, therefore, it were given to me as even to the rest—nevertheless, I would not be silent on account of the consequences, although, perhaps, it appears to some, that I have in this matter proposed, what I am unable from ignorance and difficulty of language to do justice to. But it is written, “*Lisping tongues shall quickly learn to speak peace.*”—By how much the more ought we to seek for salvation in the gospel of Christ, even to the extremity of the earth. Although not eloquent, but confirmed and very strong, and written in your hearts, “*Not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God.*” And again the Spirit testifies, “*And his dwelling place was formed from on high.*”

From whence I, the first rustic deserter, unlearned indeed, who knew not how to provide

for the time to come, but this I know most surely, because, as I was before humiliated, I was like a stone, which lies in the deep mud, and he who is powerful came, and, in his mercy raised me up, and indeed again delivered me, and fixed me in his place, and from thence I ought boldly to cry out, and to return thanks also to the Lord—for his so great benefits, here and for ever, which the mind of man cannot properly estimate. From which cause do you, great and small, wonder, and ye on the Lord's day, ye who fear God, hear with eloquence, and search diligently; he who aroused me, a fool, from the midst of those who appear to be wise, and skilled in the law, and powerful in language, and in every respect; and even me, hated by this world, he has inspired above the rest—if I would be so—so that with fear and reverence, and without complaint, I should faithfully serve that nation, to whom the love of Christ transferred me, and gave me in my life, if I shall be worthy. Finally, that I should with humility and truth, be serviceable to them. In the measure, therefore, of the faith of the Trinity, it behoves me to point out, without fear of danger, and to make known the gift of God, and his eternal consolation; to unfold every where with confidence the name of God—

that also, after my death I should leave to my Gallic brethren, and to my children, whom I baptized in the Lord—so many thousand men. And I was not worthy, nor such, as that the Lord should grant this to his servant after afflictions and such calamities, after my captivity for many years, that he should give me so great favour amongst that nation, which formerly in my youth I never hoped or expected.

But when I came to Ireland, I was daily employed in feeding cattle, and oftentimes during the day prayed, and the love and fear of God more and more inflamed me, and my faith, and my spirit increased, so that in one day I have made a hundred prayers, and in the night nearly an equal number.* So I also remained in the woods and mountains, and rose up before day to pray, in snow, in frost, in rain, and felt no injury ; nor was there any slothfulness in me, as I now perceive, because then the spirit was ardent and warm within me.

And then, indeed, on a certain night, I heard

* This passage looks like an interpolation ; it is inconsistent with the spirit of the rest of the confession.

in my sleep, a voice saying to me, "*You fast well—you will quickly go to your country.*" And again, after a very short interval, I heard an answer addressed to me, "*Behold your ship is ready:*" but it was not near, but was, perhaps, two hundred miles off—and I had never been there, nor did I know any of the inhabitants thereof. And after a while, I turned myself to flight, and left a man with whom I had been six years. And I came in the strength of the Lord, who directed my way aright, and feared nothing until I came to the ship; and on the day on which I arrived, the ship was to sail from her place, and I said, that I would sail with them. And the proposal displeased the master of the vessel—and he answered sharply with this reply, "*You shall by no means come with us.*" And when I heard this, I separated myself from them, to go to a cottage, where I had been entertained, and on my way I began to pray, and before I finished my prayer, I heard one of them loudly calling after me, "*Come quickly, for those men call you.*" And forthwith I returned to them, and they began to say to me, "*Come, because we receive you on account of your faith—ratify friendship with us in what manner you wish.*" And therefore I ceased to fly, because of the fear of God; but nevertheless I had hopes from them, that

they would say, that I should come in the faith of Jesus Christ, because they were gentiles.

And on this account I succeeded with them—and after three days we landed, and for twenty eight days we journeyed through a desert, and food failed, and hunger prevailed over them. And the master began to say to me, “*Christian, do you not say your God is great and all-powerful? Why then can you not pray for us, for we are in danger of famishing? for it is difficult for us to see any man.*” For I plainly told them, “*Be ye converted from your religion, to the Lord my God, to whom nothing is impossible, that he may send you food on your road, even until ye be satisfied, because he has every where abundance.*” And with God’s assistance it was so done. Behold a herd of swine appeared in our road before our eyes; and they slew many of them, and remained there two nights well recruited. And their dogs also were satisfied, for many of them had been left on the road half dead. And after these things they gave the greatest thanks to God, and I glorified him before their eyes. They also found wild-honey, and offered me some. And one of them said, “*It is a sacri-*

fice, thank God." From thence I tasted nothing. But on the same night, I was asleep, and Satan strongly tempted me, which I shall remember as long as I shall be in this body. And he fell upon me like a huge rock, but hurt none of my limbs. But how it suggested itself to me in the spirit to call *Helia* (*I know not.*) Meanwhile I saw the sun rise in the heavens, and while I was exclaiming *Helia*, with all my strength—lo ! the splendour of the sun fell upon me, and immediately released me from the oppressive weight. And I believe that I was assisted by my Lord Christ, and that his Spirit called out for me ; and I hope that it will be thus in the day of my adversity—as the Lord says in the Gospel, "*It is not you which speak, but the Holy Spirit which speaks in you.*"

After some years, I again suffered captivity : the first night after which I heard a divine communication, "*For two months thou shalt remain with them,*" which so came to pass.—On the sixtieth night the Lord delivered me out of their hands ; he also provided for us food, and fire and dry weather on our journey every day ; until the tenth day, when we all arrived as I have above mentioned. We per-

formed the journey through the desert in twenty-eight days, and on the night on which we all arrived, we had no food.

And again, after a few years I was among the Britons with my parents, who received me as their son, and intreated me to promise, that I would never again depart from them after the many misfortunes I had suffered. And there indeed, in the midst of the night, I saw a man, as if coming from *Hibernia*, whose name was Victoricius, with innumerable letters, and he gave me one of them, and I read the beginning of the letter, containing the cry of the Scots, *vox Hyberionacum*. And whilst I was perusing the commencement of the letter, I thought in my mind that I heard the voice of those who were near the wood of Focluti, which is near the western Sea, and they thus cried out, "*We intreat thee holy youth, to come and walk amongst us.*" And I was very much pricked to the heart, and could read no more: and I then awoke.

God be praised, that after so many years, the Lord performed to them according to their intreaty. And on another night, I know not, God knows, whether in me, or beside me, with words very skillful, which I heard, but

could not understand, unless at the latter part of the discourse he thus spoke, "*He who gave thee life, (or his spirit) the same is before thee, who speaks in thee.*" And I then awoke joyfully. And again I perceived him praying in me, and he was as if within my body ; and I heard, that is, over the interior man, and there he strongly prayed with groans. And in the midst of this, I was astonished, and wondered, and reflected who it could be that prayed within me. But at the end of the prayer he thus spoke—it may be the Spirit. And then I rose up and remembered the apostle saying, "*The Spirit assists the weakness of our prayers, for we know not what to ask for as we ought, but the Spirit himself prays for us with groans not to be uttered ;*" which cannot be expressed in words—and again—" *The Lord our intercessor prays for us.*"

I saw in a vision of the night : it was written over against my face without honour. And during these transactions I heard a communication saying to me, "*Male audivimus faciem designati nudato nomine ;*" nor did he thus express it—" *You have badly seen,*" but "*We have badly seen.*" As if he had there joined himself—as if he had said, "*He who touches you is as one who touches the pupil of*

my eye." I therefore give thanks to him who has comforted me under all circumstances, that he would not hinder me from taking the journey on which I had resolved, and concerning that my work which I had had learned from my Lord Christ. But from this I the more perceived my courage not small, and my fidelity was proved before God and man.—From which I boldly say, my conscience does not blame me here even for the future.

I call God to witness, that I have not lied in the statements which I have related to you.

It were tedious to recount all my labours singly, or in parts. I shall briefly state that God often rescued me from slavery, and treat of the twelve dangers by which my life was in jeopardy, besides many snares, and occurrences, which I cannot express in words, nor shall I do injury to my readers—but I have a Creator who knew all things, even before they were done.

Because I am very greatly debtor to God who gave me so much favour—that many people were born again to God through me, and that the clergy every where should be ordained for this people, lately coming to the

belief (or faith)—because the Lord took them (or me) from the extremity of the earth, as he formerly promised through the prophets—*“As our fathers falsely prepared idols, and there is no use in them—nations shall come to thee from the ends of the earth.”*

And again, *“I have placed thee for a light to the nations, that thou mayest be for salvation to the ends of the earth;”* and there I will await his promise, who never deceived, as he promises in the gospel—*“They shall come from the East and from the West, and from the North and from the South, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.”* So we trust, believers will come from all parts of the world.

It therefore behoves us to fish well and diligently, as the Lord advises and teaches, saying, *“Follow me, and I will make you become fishers of men.”* And again, *“Lo! I send forth fishers, and many hunters, saith the Lord, &c.”*—from which cause it very much behoves us to spread our net, so that a numerous multitude and crowd should be taken for the Lord, and that there should every where be clergy, who should baptize and exhort the poor and needy, as the Lord in the gospel

enjoins, and teaches, saying, "*Proceeding now, therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, even to the end of the world.*"

And again, "*Going, therefore, into all the world, preach the gospel to every creature—he who shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved; but he who will not believe shall be damned.*"

Whence is it that in Ireland, those who never had the knowledge of a God, but worshipped even filthy idols; how have they lately become the Lord's people, and are called the sons of God? The sons and daughters of the Scots, seems to be monks and virgins of Christ.*

Behold, I call God to witness against my life—that I have not lied, neither had I any occasion to do so to you—nor do I expect honour from any of you. For that honour is sufficient for me, which he promised who does not lie. But I see that I am now in this present time exalted beyond measure by the Lord—and I was not worthy, nor such as that he should accomplish this for me, whilst I know that poverty and misfortune are much better for me than riches and pleasures; for

* This last sentence evidently interpolated.

even the Lord Christ for our sakes became poor.

But I should be wretched and unhappy, even to wish for wealth ; now I have it not, nor do I judge myself because I daily condemn the risk of either massacre, or to be intrapped, or to be reduced to slavery, or the want of any thing. But I pray for those who believe and fear God ; whoever shall be worthy to read or receive this writing, which Patrick the sinner wrote in Ireland ; that no one should ever say that it is my ignorance, if I have pointed out any thing weak. But you think, and it is verily believed, that it was the gift of God. And this is my confession, before I shall die."

This is so much of the volume which was written by the hand of Patrick himself. On the 17th day of March, Patrick was translated to heaven.

THE EPISTLE

or

SAINT PATRICK TO COROTICUS.*

I, PATRICK, a rude and unlearned sinner, having been appointed a bishop in Ireland, declare most confidently, (or certainly) that I have received that mission from God, who is my witness, that dwelling among barbarians a Christian and an exile, urged by my love and zeal for God, and the truth of Christ; I wished, although rudely, and in an unpolished manner, to declare these things from my mouth. For the love of my neighbours, and my children in the Lord, roused me and compelled me to give up my country and parents, and even my life also, if I should be thought worthy. I vowed to God to teach the truth to the nations. I have written with my own hand these words to Coroticus, to be delivered to him by the soldiers. Although I am despised by those to whom I have written,

* This is translated from Sir James Ware, who collated his copy with the Cotton and Salisbury MSS.

I do not say to my fellow-citizens, nor to the pious (or holy) Roman citizens, but to the citizens of devils; apostates, who, on account of their evil works, and hostile acts, in the works of death, are fit companions of the the apostate *Scots* and *Picts*, sanguinary men, who have been ever ready to shed the blood of the innocent Christians, whom in numbers I brought to God, and confirmed to Christ, on on the following day, on which the unction of the neophyte, in a white garment, burned before them, they were by them cruelly slaughtered and butchered with the sword. —And they mocked my messenger when I wrote them a letter by a holy priest, whom I have taught from infancy, with some clergy, that they should grant us some part of the booty of the baptized captives they had taken; therefore, I know not whom I should rather grieve for, whether those who were slain, those they took captive, or those whom the devil grievously ensnared into the everlasting pains of hell, where they shall remain—because he who caused their sin is a slave, and is called the son of the devil.

Wherefore, let every man, who fears God know, that they are estranged from me, and from my Lord Christ, on whose mission I am

now employed, who are patricides, ravenous wolves, "Devouring the Lord's people, like bread," as he says: "The ungodly have broken thy law, O Lord!" wherefore, in the latter times Ireland has been benignly and kindly planted and instructed, under the favour of God. I do not usurp any thing—I have a part with those whom he has called and pre-ordained to preach his gospel, under no small persecutions, even to the farthest limits of the earth. Although the enemy has acted invidiously toward me, through the tyranny of *Coroticus*, who fears not God, (nor his priests, whom he has chosen, and to them he has committed the superlative, divine, sublime power, "that whomsoever they should bind on earth, should be bound in heaven.")* Whence, therefore, (I beseech you) let none of you who are saints and humble in heart, suffer yourselves to be flattered by such persons, nor take meat or drink with them, nor receive alms from them, until they atone to God for the tears which they have cruelly caused to be shed by us, and shall liberate the servants of God, and the baptized hand-maidens of Christ, for whom he died and was crucified—" *The Most Highest rejects the of-*

* This is evidently an interpolated sentence,

ferings of the unjust, who offers a sacrifice from the substance of the poor, like one who offers his son as a victim in the sight of his father." "Riches," says he, "*which the unjust man shall collect, shall be ejected from his belly; the angel of death drags him off. He shall be punished with the anger of dragons, and the tongue of the snake shall destroy him.*" Inextinguishable fire also shall eat him up. And, therefore, "*Woe to them who fill themselves with things which are not their own*"—or, "*What avails it a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?*"

It were a long task to discuss, or wind through each circumstance, to bring down testimonies from the whole law against such cupidity. Avarice is a mortal crime, "*Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods.*" "*Thou shalt do no murder.*" A homicide cannot be with Christ—"He who hates his brother, is a murderer;" or, "*He who does not love his brother, remaineth in death.*" How much the more guilty is he who defiled his hands in the blood of the sons of God, whom he has lately acquired in the uttermost parts of the earth, through our humble exhortations.

Whether did I come to Ireland without

God, or according to flesh? Who compelled me; bound by the spirit, that I should leave all my kindred? Whether do I exercise pious mercy towards that nation which formerly took me captive, and destroyed the servants and maids of the house of my father? I was of the patrician order (*ingenuus*) according to the flesh, my father being a *Decurion* (or captain of ten). For I gave up my nobility; I do not blush for it, nor am I grieved, for I did so for the advantage of others. Finally, I am a servant in Christ Jesus, our Lord; although my own do not acknowledge me. "*A prophet has no honour in his own country.*" We are not of the same fold, nor have we one God and Father; as he says, "*He who is not with me, is against me, and he who gathereth not with me scattereth abroad.*" Is it not said, "*One man destroys, another builds up.*" I seek not for myself—nor my own advantage; but for God; indeed, I have in my heart solicitude, to be one of the hunters or fishermen, whom God revealed should appear in the latter days. I am envied; what shall I do, O Lord? I am greatly despised. Behold, thy sheep are torn and destroyed by these robbers, at the instigation of *Coroticus*, who has with hostile mind (the betrayer of Christians is far from the

love of God) delivered them into the hands of the *Scots* and *Picts*. The ravening wolves have destroyed the flock of the Lord, which was successfully increasing in Ireland by the greatest diligence ; the sons of the *Scots* and the daughters of the kings, who were monks and virgins of Christ—I cannot enumerate them. Wherefore, “ *The oppression of the just is not pleasing to God, and who respects the estate of the lowest.*”

Which of the saints would not feel horror at the idea of associating with, or joining in the banquets of such wretches as these? From the spoils of the dead Christians they have filled their houses ; they live on rapine. The wretched creatures know not the mischief, they extend the deadly poison to their friends and children ; as *Eve* understood not, that she delivered a deadly offering to her husband ; so are all they who act badly, they make death an everlasting punishment.

It is the custom of the *Roman* and *Gallic* Christians to send pious persons to the *Franks*, and other nations, with many thousand shillings for the redemption of baptized captives. You have so often slain them, and sold them to a foreign nation which knows not God ; you

deliver up the members of Christ, as if to the wolves. What kind of hope have you in God ? or who agrees with you ? Or who applies to you the words of flattery ? God will judge, for it is written ; “ *Not only those committing evil, but those who consent to it also shall be condemned.*” I know not what I should say, or speak more concerning the deceased of the sons God, whom the sword has cruelly exterminated ; for it is written, “ *Weep with those that weep ;*” and again, “ *If one member grieve, let all the members grieve with it.*”

Wherefore the church deplores and mourns her sons and daughters, whom the sword has not yet slain, but are carried off and transported to a distant country, where sin is manifestly grievous, and shamelessly abounds.—There the free-born Christians are sold, and reduced to slavery, among the most unworthy, the most abandoned, and apostate *Picts*.—Therefore with sadness and grief will I exclaim.—O most excellent and loving brethren, and sons whom I have begotten in Christ, I cannot mention what I can do for you ! I am not worthy to assist you with God's assistance nor with that of man. The iniquity of the unjust has prevailed against us. We are become like foreigners—perhaps they do not

believe "*We partake of one baptism with them,*" or, "*that we have one God and Father :*" it is an indignity to them that we are born in Ireland, as he says, "*Have ye not one God ?*" "*Why do ye forsake each one his neighbour ?*" I therefore grieve for ye, I lament for ye, Oh ! most dear to me. But again I rejoice within myself, that I have not laboured in vain, or that my journey has not been unavailing, and that it has laid hold of a crime so horrible, and unutterable. Thanks to God, ye who believed and are baptized, have withdrawn from the things of the world, ye are beginning (I perceive) to journey towards paradise, "*Where there shall be neither night, nor grief, nor death any more.* But ye shall exult like young bulls unbound from chains, and shall trample on the unjust, and they shall be like dust beneath your feet." Ye shall reign then with the apostles and prophets, and martyrs, and shall receive the everlasting kingdom: as he testifies, "*They shall come*" (says he) "*from the east, and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven :*" but cruel men, and magicians, and homicides, liars, and perjurers, shall have their part in the lake of eternal fire ; not without justice does the apostle say, "*Where the just man will with difficulty be saved, where shall the sinner,*

and impious transgressor of the law, betake himself ?" Wherefore in what place shall *Coroticus* with his most abandoned rebels against Christ, see themselves, when rewards are distributed (amongst weak women who have been baptized) on account of this wretched temporal kingdom, shall it not pass away in a moment like a cloud, or smoke which is dispersed by the wind ? So guilty sinners shall perish before the face of the Lord ; but the just shall feast in great constancy with Christ, they shall judge the nations, and rule over unjust kings, for ever, and ever—Amen.

I testify before God and his angels, that it shall be so, as he intimated to my ignorance ; these are not my words, but those of God and the apostles, and of the prophets (which I have transcribed from the Latin) who never lied. "*He who will believe and is baptized, shall be saved, but he who will not believe, shall be condemned.*" God here spoke. I earnestly beseech you, whichever of you be a servant of God, that he be ready to be a bearer of this letter, that he be drawn away by nobody, but that rather he should read it in the presence of all the people, and before *Coroticus* himself. But if God inspires them, so that at length, they may repent and turn to God, and those

homicides, though late, may repent them of their sins, which they have so impiously committed against the Lord's brethren, and that they may liberate the baptized captive women, whom they formerly took, so that they may deserve from God to live, and that they may be made whole here and for ever. The peace of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, remain with you.—*Amen.*

APPENDIX.

LIBER ARDMACHÆ.

The Latin is given verbatim, and without points, as in the original.

VITA S. PATRICII.

* * * * *
sibi in Hibernica servitute posito antequam essent dixerat eum crebris visionibus visitavit dicens ei adesse tempus ut veniret et evangelico rete nationes feras et barbaras ad quas docendas miserat illum Deus ut piscaret ibique ei dictum est in visione vocant et filii et filię silvæ Foclisiæ &c.

Oportuno ergo tempore imperante comitante divino auxilio cœptum ingreditur itur ad opus in quod ollim̄ preparatus fuerat utique evangelii et missit Germanus seniore[m] cum illo hoc est Segitium presbyterum ut testem comitem haberet quia nec adhuc a sancto domino Germano in pontificali gradu ordinatus est.

Certe enim erit quod Paladius Archidiaconus Papæ Celestinæ urbis Romæ Episcopi qui tunc tenebat sedem apostolicam quadragesimus quintus a Sancto Petro apostolo ille Palladius ordinatus et missus fuerat ad hanc insulam sub brumali rigore positam convertendum sed prohibuit illum quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra nisi datum ei fuerit de celo nam neque hii feri et immites homines facile recipiunt doctrinam ejus neque et ipse voluit transegere tempus in terrâ non suâ. Sed reversus ad eum qui missit illum revertere vero eo hinc et in primo mari transito cœpto qui erat parum itinere in Britonum finibus vita factus.

Audita itaque morte Sancti Palladii in Britannis quia discipali Palladii id est Augustinus et Benedictus et ceteri redeuntes retulerant in Ebmoriam de morte ejus.

Patricius et qui cum eo erant declinaverunt iter ad quendam mirabilem hominem summum episcopum Amatho rege nomine in propinquo loco habitantem ibique Sanctus Patricius sciens quæ eventura erant ibi episcopalem gradum ab Matho rege sancto episcopo accepit etiam Auxilius Iserninusque et ceteri inferioris gradus eodem die quo Sanctus Patricius ordinatus est.

Tum acceptis benedictionibus perfectis omnibus secundum morem cantato etiam Patricio quasi specialiter et convenienter hoc psalmistæ versu. Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedec.

Venerabilis viator paratum navim in nomine sanctæ trinitatis ascendit et pervenit Britannias.

Et omissis omnibus ambulandi anfractibus præter commune viæ officium nemo enim dissidiæ quærit dominum cum omni velocitate flatu que prospero mare nostrum contendit.

In illis autem diebus quibus hæc gestarunt in prædictis regionibus fuit rex quidam magnus ferox gentilisque imperator barbarorum regnans in Temoria qui erat caput Scotorum Loigaire nomine filius Neill origo stirpis regis hujus pene insolæ hic autem scivos et magos et aurispices et incantatores et omnis malæ artis inventores habuerat qui poterant omnia scire et providere ex more gentilitatis et idolatrie antequam essent equibus hii duo præ ceteris præferebantur quorum nomina hæc sunt Lothroch qui etiam Lochrii et Lucamael qui et Ronal et hii duo ex sua arte magica crebrius prophetabant morem quendam exterum futurum in modum regni cum ignota quadam doctrina molesta lonquinquo trans maria advectum a paucis dictatum a multis susceptum :

ab omnibusque	honoratum
regna	subversurum
resistantes turbas	seducturum
omnes eorum deos	distructurum

et in ceteris omnibus illorum artis opibus in secula regnaturum.

Portantem quoque suadentemque hanc morem signaverunt et prophete-

taverunt hiis verbis quasi in modum crebro ab hiisdem dictis maxime in antecedentibus adventum Patriciique duobus aut tribus annis.

Hæc autem sunt versiculi verba pro linguæ idiomo non tam manifesta est adveniet.

Lasciiput cum suo ligno curvi capite ex sua domu capite perforato incantabit nefas a sua mensa ex anteriore parte domus suæ respondebit ei sua familia tota fiat fiat quod nostris verbis potest manifestius exprimi. Quando hæc omnia fiant regnum nostrum quod est gentile non stabit quod sic potest ea evenerat eversis enim in adventu Patricii idolorum culturis fides Christi catholica nam replevit omnia.

De his ista sufficiant redeamus ad propositum.

Consummato igitur navigio sancto præfectoque honorata navis sancti cum transmarinis mirabilibus spiritalibus quæ tesseractis quasi in opportunum portem in regiones *Coolennorum* in portum apud nos clarum qui vocatur hostium *Dee* dilata est ubi vissum est ei nihil perfectius esse quam ut semetipsum primitus redemeret et inde appetens sinistrales fines ad illum hominem gentilem *Milcoin* apud quem quondam in captivitate fuerat portansque geminum servitutis pretium terrenum utique et cœleste ut de captivitate liberaret illum cui ante captivus servierat ad anteriorem insulam quam ejus nomine usque hodie nominatur prurim navis convertit.

Tum deinde *Brega Consineas* quæ fines necnon et fines *Ulathorum* in *Levo* dimittens ad extremum fretum quod est *Brene* se immisisset et discederunt in terram ad hostium *Slain* ille et qui cum eo erant in navi et absconderunt naviculum et venierunt aliquantulum in regionem ut requiescerent ibi. Et invenit eos porcinarios cujusdam viri naturæ boni licet gentilis cui nomen erat *Dichu* habitans ibi ubi nunc est *orreum* Patricii nomine cognominatum.

Porcinarius autem putans eos fures ac latrones exivit et indicavit domino suo *Dudichoin*.

Et induxit illum super eos ignorantibus illis qui corde proposuerat occidere eos sed videns faciem Sancti Patricii convertit domum ad bonum cogitationes ejus et prædicavit Patricius fidem ille et ibi credidit Patricio et requiescit ibi sanctus apud illum non multis diebus sed volens cito ire ut visitaret prædictum hominem *Milconi* et portaret ei pretium

suum et vel sicut converteret ad Christi fidem relicta ibi navis apud *Dicoin* cœpit per terras dirigere viam in regiones *Cruidanorum* donec pervenit ad montem *Mis* de quo monte multo ante tempore quo ibi captivus erat servierat presso vestigio in petra alteri montis expedito gradu vidit anguelum *Victoricum* in conspectu ejus ascendisse in cœlum.

Audiens autem *Miliuc* servum suum iterum ad visitandum eum ut morem quam nolebat in fine vitæ faceret quasi per vim ne servo subjectus fieret et ille sibi dominaret instinctu diabuli sponte se igni tradidit et in domu in qua prius habitaverat rex congregato ad se omni instrumento substantiæ suæ incensus est.

Stans autem Sanctus Patricius in prædicto loco a latere dextero montis *Mis* ubi primum illam regionem in qua servivit cum tali gratia adveniens vidit ubi nunc usque crux habetur in signum advissum primum illius regionis illico sub oculis rogum regis in incensum intuitus.

Stupefactus igitur ad hoc opus duabus aut tribus fere horis nullum verbum proferens suspirans et gemens lacrimansque atque hæc verba *promens* ait nescio Deus scit hic homo rex qui seipsum igni tradidit ne crederet in fine vitæ suæ et ne serviret Deo æterno nescio Deus scit nemo de filiis ejus sedebit rex super sedem regni ejus a generatione in generationem insuper et semen ejus serviet in sempiternum.

Et his dictis orans et armans se signo crucis convertit cito iter suum ad regiones *Ulothorum* per eadem vestigia quibus venerat et rursum pervenit in campum *Inis* ad *Dichoin* ibique mansit diebus multis et circum ut totum campum et elegit et amavit et cœpit fides crescere ibi.

Ad propinquavit autem Pasca in diebus illis quod Pasca primum Deo in nostra *Ægipto* hujus insolæ vel ut quondam in *Genesseon* celebratum est et invenierunt consilium ubi hoc primum Pasca in gentibus ad quas missit illum Deus celebrarent multis quæ super hac re consiliis jectis postremo inspirato divinitus Sancto Patricio visum est hanc magnam Domini resolempnitatem quasi caput omnium sollempnitatum in campo maximo ubi erat regnum maximum nationum harum quod erat omnis gentilitatis et idolatriæ ne possit ulterius liberari uti hic invictus cuneus in caput totius idolatriæ re possit ulterius adversus Christi fidem insurgere sub malleo fortis operis cum fide juncti Sancti Patricii et suorum manibus spiritalibus primus inlinderetur et sic factum est.

Elevata igitur navis ad mare et demisso in fide plena et pace bono illo viro *Dichu* migrantes de campo *Iniss* dextrâque manu demittentes omnia ad plenitudinem ministerii quæ erant ante non incongrue leva in portum hostii *Colpdi* benè et prosperè delati sunt.

Relictaque ibi navi pedestri itinere venierunt in prædictum maximum campum donec postremo ad vespertum pervenierunt ad *Forti* viro-
rum *Fec* quæ ut fabulæ ferunt *Fodorem* viri hoc est servi *Feccol Fer-
chertni* qui fuerat unus enovim magis prophetis *Bregg*. Fixoque ibi
tentorio debeta Pascae vota sacrificiumque laudis cum omni devotione
Sanctus Patricius cum suis Deo altissimo secundum prophetæ vocem re-
didit.

Contigit vero in illo anno idolatriæ sollemnitatem quam gentiles in
cantationibus multis et magicis inventionibus nonnullis aliis idolatriæ
superstitionibus congregatis etiam regibus satrapis ducibus principibus
et optimatibus populi insuper et magis in cantatoribus aursupicibus et
omnis artis omnisque doni inventoribus doctoribus ut vocatis ad *Loi-
gairum* vel ut quondam ad *Nebochdonosser* regem in Temoria istorum *Ba-
bylonæ* exercere consueverant eadem nocte qua Sanctus Patricius Pasca illi
illam adorarent exercerentque festivitatem gentilem.

Erat quoque quidam mos apud illas per edictum omnibus intimatus
ut quicunque in cunctis regionibus sive procul sive juxta in illa nocte
incendisset ignem antequam in domu regia id est in palatio *Temoriæ* suc-
cenderetur perirét anima ejus de populo suo.

Sanctus ergo Patricius Sanctam Pasca celebrans incendit divinum
ignem valdè lucidum et benedictum qui in nocte refulgens a cunctis pene
plani campi habitantibus visus est.

Accidit ergo ut a *Temoria* videretur vissoque eo conspexerunt omnes
et mirati sunt convocatus qui senioribus majoribus natu regi nesciisse
illum qui hoc feceret magi responderunt rex in æternum vive. Hic ignis
quem videmus quique in hac nocte accensus est antequam succenderetur
in domu sua id est in palatio *Temoriæ* nisi distinctus fuerit in nocte hac
qua accensus est numquam extinguitur in æternum insuper et omnes ignes
nostræ consuetudinis super graditur et ille qui incendit et regnum
super veniens a quo incensus nocte in hac superabit nos omnes et te et
omnes homines regni tui seducet et cadent ei omnia regna et ipsum im-
plebit omnia et regnabit in sæcula sæculorum.

His ergo auditis turbatus est rex *Loigaire* valde ut ollum *Eredis* et omnis civitas *Temoria* cum eo et respondens dixit non sic erit sed nunc nos ibimus ut videamus exitum rei et retinebimus et occidemus facientes tantum nefas in nostrum regnum.

Junctis ter novam curribus secundum deorum traditionem et assumptis his duobis magis et confictionem per omnibus optimis id est *Lucetmail* et *Lechrú* in fine noctis illius perrexit *Loigaire de Temoria* ad *Ferti* virorum *Fecé* hominum et equorum facies secundum congruum illis sensum ad levam vertentes.

Euntibus autem illis dixerunt magi regi rex nec tu ibis ad locum in quo ignis est ne forte tu postea adoraveris illum qui incendit sed eris foris juxta et vocabitur ad te ille ut te adoraverit et tu ipse dominatus fueris et sermocinabimur ad invicem nos et ille in conspectu tuo rex et probabis nos sic et respondens rex ait bonum consilium invenistis sic faciam ut locuti fuistis.

Et pervenierunt ad præfinitum locum. Descendentibusque illis de curribus suis et equis non intraverunt in circuitum loci incensi sed sederunt juxta.

Et vocatus est Sanctus Patricius ad regem juxta extra locum incensi dixeruntque magi ad suos nec surgemus nōs in adventu istius nam quicumque surrexerit ad adventum istius credet ei postea et adorabit eum. Surgens denique Sanctus Patricius et videns multos currus et equos eorum hunc que Psalmistæ versiculum non incongrue in labiis et in corde decantans. Hii in curribus et hii in equis nos autem in nomine Dei nostri ambulabimus. * * * * ad illos illi non surrexerunt in adventu ejus sed unus tamen a Domino adjutus qui noluit obedire dictis magorum hoc est *Ercé* filius *Dego* cujus nunc reliquie adorantur in illa civitate que vocatur *Slanc*. Surrexit et benedixit eum Patricius et credidit Deo æterno.

Incipientibusque illis sermocinari ad invicem alter magus nomine *Lechrú* procax erit in conspectu Sancti audens detrachere fidei Catholicæ tumultentis verbis. Hunc autem intuens turvo oculo talia prominentem Sanctus Patricius ut quondam *Petrus de Simone* cum quadam potentia et magno clamore confidenter ad Dominum dixit Domine qui omnia potes et in tua potestate consistunt quique me missisti huc hic impius qui blasphemiat nomen tuum elevatur nunc foras et cito moriatur. Et his dictis elevatus est

in æthera magus et iterum dimissus foras desuper verso ad lapidem cerebro comminutus et mortuus fuerat coram eis et timuerunt gentiles.

Iratique cum suis rex Patricio super hoc voluit eum occidere et dixit iniecite manus in istum perdentem nos. Tunc videns gentiles impios inruituros in eum Sanctus Patricius surrexit claraque voce dixit Exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimice ejus et fugant qui oderunt eum à facie ejus et statim inruerunt tenebræ et commotio quædam horribilis et expugnaverunt impii semetipsos alter adversus alterum insurgens et terræ motus magnus factus est et collocavit axes curruum eorum et agebat eos cum vi et præcipitaverunt se currus et equi per planitiem campi donec ad extremum pauci ex eis semivivi evaserunt ad montem *Monduirn* et prostrati sunt ab hac plaga coram rege ex suis sermonibus ad maledictum Patricii septem septies viri donec ipse remanserat tamen hominibus ipse et uxor ejus et alii ex *Scotis* duo et timuerunt valde.

Veniensque regina ad Patricium dixit ei homo juste et potens ne perdas regem veniens enim rex genua flectet et adorabit Dominum tuum et venit rex timore coactus et flexit genua coram Sancto et finxit se adorare quem nolebat et postquam separaverunt ad invicem paululum gradiens vocavit rex Sanctum Patricium simulato verbo volens interficere eum quomodo sciens autem Patricius cogitationes regis pessimi benedictis in nomine Jesu Christi sociis suis octo viris cum puero venit ad regem enumerat eos rex venientes statimque nusquam comparuerunt ab oculis regis sed viderunt gentiles octo tam cervos cum hynulo euntes quasi ad disertum et Rex *Loigaire* mestus timidus et ignominiosis cum paucis evadentibus ad *Temoriam* versus est de luculo.

Sequenti vero die hoc est in die Pasce recumbentibus regibus et principibus et magis apud *Loigaire* festus enim dies maximus apud eos erat manducantibus illis et bibentibus vinum in palatio *Temoriæ* sermoninantibusque et aliis et aliis cogitantibus de his qua facta fuerant Sanctus Patricius quinque tantum viris ut contenderet et verbum faceret de fide Sancta in *Temoria* coram omnibus nationibus hostiis olaussis secundum id quod de Christi legitur venit adveniente ergo eo in cœnacolum *Temoriæ* nemo de omnibus ad adventum ejus surrexit præter unum tantum id est *Dubthock Macculligil* poetam optimum apud quem tunc temporis ibi erat quidam adolescens poeta nomine *Fec* qui postea mirabilis episcopus fuit cujus reliquiæ adorantur in *Sleibti*. Hic ut dixi *Dubthack* solus ex gentilibus in honorem Sancti Patricii surrexit et benedixit ei Sanctus. Crediturque primus in illa die deo et repputatum est ei ad justiciam.

Viso itaque Patricio vocatus est agentibus ad vescendum ut probarent eum inventuris rebus ille autem sciens quæ ventura essent non refellet vesci.

Coenantibus autem omnibus ille magus *Lucetmail* qui fuerat in nocturna confictione etiam in illa die sollicitus est extincto consocio suo configere adversus Sanctum Patricium et ut initium causæ haberet in-tuentibus aliis immisit aliquid ex vase suo in poculum Patricii ut probaret quid faceret.

Vidensque Sanctus Patricius hoc probationis genus videntibus cunctis benedixit poculum suum et versus est liquor in modum gelu et converso vase cecidit gutta illa tantum quam immiserat magus et iterum benedixit poculum conversus est liquor in naturam et mirati sunt omnes.

Et post paululum ait magus faciamus signa super hunc campum maximum in hoc campo maximo respondensque Patricius ait quæ et dixit magus inducamus nivem super terram et ait pater nolo contraria voluntati deo inducere et dixit magus ego inducam videntibus cunctis tunc incantationes magicus exorsus induxit nivem super totam campum pertinentem *Ferens* et viderunt omnes et mirati sunt. Et ait Sanctus ecce videmus hoc depone nunc et dixit ante istam horam cras non possum depone et ait sanctus potes malum et non bonum facere non sic ego tunc benedicens per totum circuitum campum dicto citius absque ulla pluvia aut nebulis aut vento evanuit nix. Exclamaverunt turbæ et mirati sunt corde. Et paulo post invocatis demonibus induxit magus densissimas tenebras super terram in signum et mormuraverunt omnes et ait Sanctus expelli tenebras at ille similiter non poterat. Sanctus autem orans benedixit et repente expulsæ sunt tenebræ et refulget sol et exclamaverunt omnes et gratias egerunt. His autem omnibus in conspectu regis inter magum Patriciumque ait Rex ad illos libros vestros in aquam mittite et illum cujus libri in lessi evasserunt adorabimus. Respondit Patricius faciam ego et dixit magus nolo ego ad judicium aquæ venire cum isto aquam enim deum habet certe audivit baptismum per aquam a Patricio datum et respondens rex ait per mitte per ignem et ait Patricius prumptus sum et magus nolens dixit hic homo versa vice in alternos annos nunc aquam nunc ignem deum veneratur et ait Sanctus non sic sed tu ipse ibis et unus ex meis pueris ibi tecum in separatam et conclaustram domum et meum erga te et tuum erga me erit vestimentum et sic simul incendimini et hoc consilium insedit et ædificata est eis domus cujus dimidium ex materia viridi et alterum dimidium ex arida facta est et missus est magus

in illam domum in partem ejus viridam et unus ex pueris Sancti Patricii *Bineus* nomine cum veste magica in partem domus conclusa itaque extrinsecus domus coram omni turba incensa est et factum est in illa hora orante Patricio ut consumeret flamma ignis magum cum dimidia domu viridi permanente casula Sancti Patricii tam intacta quia ignis non tetigit. Felix autem *Beninius* e contrario cum dimidia domu arida secundum quod de tribus pueris dictum est non tetigit eum ignis neque contristatus est nec quicquam molesti intulit casula tam magi quam erga eum fuerat non sine Dei natu exusta et iratus est valde rex adversus Patricium de morte magi sui et inruit pœnæ in eum nolens occidere sed prohibuit illum Deus. Ad precem enim Patricii et ad vocem ejus descendit ira Dei in verticem suum et timuit rex vehementer, et commotum est cor ejus et omnis civitas cum eo.

Congregatis igitur senioribus et omni senatu suo dixit eis rex *Loigaire* melius est credere me quam mori initoque consilio ex suorum præcepto credidit in illa die et convertitur ad dominum Deum Hisrael æternum et ibi crediderunt multi alii et ait Sanctus Patricius ad regem quia resististi doctrinæ meæ et fuisti scandalum mihi licet prolongentur dieis regni tui nullus tamen erit ex semine tuo rex in æternum.

Sanctus autem Patricius secundum præceptum domini Jesu gentis baptizansque eas in nomine patris et filii et Spiritus Sancti et profectus a *Temoria* prædicavit Domino cooperante domino et sermonum confirmante sequentibus signis.

Erat quidam homo in regionibus *Ulothorum* Patricii tempore *Maccuil Macugreccæ* et erat hic homo valde impius sævus tyrannus ut cyclops nominaretur cogitantioribus.

pravus	verbis	In tantum
verbis	intemperatus	vergens im-
factis	malignus	pietatis in
spiritu	amarus	profundum
anima	iracondus	ita ut die
corpore	sceleratus	quadam
mente	crudelis	in montosso
vita	gentilis	aspero alto
conscientia	inanis	quæ sedens

loco *Hindruim Maccuechach* ubi ille tyrannidem cotidie exercebat *Diberca*

signa sumens nequissima crudelitatis et transeuntes hospites crudeli scelere interficiens.

Sanctum quoque Patricium claro fidei lumine radiantem et miro quondam celestis patriæ gloriæ diademate fulgentem videns eum in concussa doctrinæ fiducia per congruum viæ iter ambulans interficere cogitaret dicens satellitibus suis ecce seductor ille et perversor hominum venit cui mos facere præstigias ut desipiat homines multosque seducat eamus ergo et temptemus eum et sciemus si habet potentiam aliquam ille Deus in quo se gloriatur.

Temptaveruntque virum sanctum in hoc mundo temptaverunt et posuerunt unum ex semetipsis sanum in medio eorum sub sago jacentem infirmitatemque mortis simulantem ut probarent sanctum in huiusque modi fallacere sanctum seductorem virtutis præstigias et orationes veneficia vel incantationes nominantes adveniente Sancto Patricio cum discipulis suis gentiles dixerunt ei ecce unus ex nobis nunc infirmitatus est accede itaque et canta super eum aliquas incantationes sectæ tuæ si forte sanari posset.

Sanctus Patricius sciens omnes dolas et fallacias eorum constanter et intripide ait nec mirum si infirmus fuisset et revelantes socii ejus faciem in simulantis infirmitatem viderunt eum jam mortuum at illi obstupescentes ammirantesque tale miraculum dixerunt intra se gentes verè hic homo Dei est malefecimus temptantes eum.

Sanctus vero Patricius conversus ad *Maccul* ait quare temptare me voluiste responditque ille tyrannus crudelis ait peniteat me facta hujus et quodcumque perciperis missi faciam et trado me nunc in potentiam Dei tui excelsi quem prædicas. Et ait Sanctus crede ergo in Deo meo Domino Jesu et confitere peccata tua et baptizare in nomine Patris et filii et Spiritus Sancti. Et conversus in illa hora credidit Deo æterno baptizatusque est insuper et nunc addidit *Maccul* dicens confiteor tibi Sancte domine mi Patrici quia proposui te interficere judica ergo quantum debuerit pro tanto ac tali crimine et ait Patricius non possum judicare sed deus judicabit.

Tu tunc egredire nunc inermis ad mare et transi velociter de regione hac hibernensi nihil tollens tecum de tua substantia præter vile et parvum indumentum quo possit corpus tuum contegi nihil gustans nihilque bibens de fructu insolæ hujus habens insigne peccati tui in capite tuo et post-

quam pervenias ad mare conliga pedes tuos compede ferreo et projice clavam ejus in mari et mitte te in navim unius pellis absque gubernaculo et absque remo et quocumque te duxerit ventus et mare esto paratus et terram in quamcunque deferat te divina providentia inhabitata et exerce tibi divina mandata.

Dixitque *Maccuil* sic faciam ut dixisti divino autem mortuo quid faciemus et ait Patricius vivet et exsurget sine dolore et suscitavit eum Patricius in illa hora et revixit sanus.

Et migravit inde *Maccuil* tam cito ad mare dexterum campi *Inis* habetur fiduciæ inconcussa fidei collegiantque se in litore jeciens clavam in mare secundum quod præceptum est ei et ascendit mare in navicula et inspiravit illi ventus Aquilo et sustulit eum ad meridiem jecit qui eum in insulam *Eveniam* nomine invenitque ibi duos viros valde mirabilis in fide et doctrina fulgentes qui primi docuerunt verbum Dei et baptismum in *Euenia*.

Et conversi sunt homines insolæ in doctrina eorum ad fidem catholicam quorum nomina sunt *Contadri* et *Rumili*. Hii vero videntes virum unius habitus mirati sunt et miserti sunt illius elivaverunt qui de mari suscipientes cum gaudio ille igitur ubi inventi sunt spiritales patres in regione a Deo sibi credita ad regulam eorum corpus et animum exercuit et totum vitæ tempus exegit apud istos duos sanctos episcopos usque dum successor eorum in episcopatu effectus est.

Hic est *Maccus Dimans* episcopus et antistes *Arddæ Huinnonti*.

Alia vero vice Sanctus requiescens Patricius in die dominica supra mare juxta salseginem quod est ad aquilonalem plagam a collo *Bovis* distans non magno vice spatio audivit sonum intemperatum gentilium in die dominica laborantium facientium *rathi* vocatisque illis prohibuit eos Patricius ne laborarent in dominicæ die at illi non consentiebant verbis Sancti quin immo inridentes deludebant eum et ait Sanctus Patricius *Mudebreth* quamvis laboraveritis nec tunc proficiat quod tunc completum est in sequenti enim nocte ventus magnus adveniens turbavit mare et omnia opera gentilium destruxit tempestas juxta verbum Sancti.

Fuit quidam homo dives et honorabilis in regionibus orientalium cui nomen erat *Dabry* hunc autem rogavit Patricius ut aliquam locum ad ex-scendum religionem daret ei.

Dixitque dives ad sanctum quam locum petis peto inquit sanctus ut illum altitudinem terræ quæ nominatur *Dorsum Salicis* dones mihi et construam ibi locum. At ille noluit sancto terram illam dare altam sed dedit illi locum alium in inferiori terra ubi nunc est *Fertæ Martyrum* juxta *Arddmache* et habitavit ibi Sanctus Patricius cum suis.

• Post vero aliquid tempus venit eques *Dairi* ducens equum suum miraculum ut pasceret in herbosso loco Christianorum et offendit Patricium talis dilatio equi in locum suum et ait. Stulte fecit *Daire* bruta mittens animalia turbare locum sanctum quam dedit deo. At vero eques tamquam sordus non audiebat et si mutus non aperiens os suum nihil loquebatur sed dimisso ibi equo nocte illa exiit.

Crastino autem die mane veniens eques visitare equum suum invenit eum jam mortuum domique reversus tristis ait ad dominum suum ecce christianus ille occidit equum tuum offendit enim illum turbatio loci sui et dixit *Daire* occidatur et ille nunc ite et interficite eum. Euntibus autem illis foras dictu citius inruit mors super *Daire*. Et ait uxor ejus causa christiani est hæc. Eat quis cito et portentur nobis beneficia ejus et salvus erit et prohibenter et revocentur qui exierunt occidere eum.

Exieruntque duo viri occidere eum ad christianum qui dixerunt ei celantes quod factum est et ecce infirmitatus est *Daire* portetur illi aliquid a te si forte sanari possit.

Sanctus autem Patricius sciens quam facta sunt dixit nimirum benedixitque aquam et dedit eis dictus ite aspergite equum vestrum ex aqua ista et portatæ illum vobiscum et fecerunt sic et revixit equus et portaverunt secum sanatusque est *Daire* aspersione aquæ sanctæ.

Et venit *Daire* post hæc ut honoraret Sanctum Patricium portans secum eum mirabilem transmarinum metricas ternas capientem dixitque *Daire* ad sanctum ecce his eneus sit tecum et ait Sanctus Patricius *Gratzacham* reversusque *Daire* ad domum suam dixit stultus homo est qui nihil boni dixit præter *Gratzacham* tum pro eneo mirabili metritarum trium additque *Daire* dicens servis suis ite reportate nobis eum nostrum exierunt et dixerunt Patricio portabimus eum nihilominus et illa vice Sanctus Patricius dixit *Gratzacham* portate et portaverunt. Interrogavitque *Daire* socios suos dicens quid dixit Christianus quando reportasti æneum. At ille responderunt *Gratzachum* dixit et ille *Daire* respondens

dixit *Gratzacham* in dato in ablato ejus dictum tam bonum est cum *Gratzacham* illis portabitur illi rursum æneas suus et venit *Daire* insemet illa vice et portavit æneam ad Patricium dicens ei fiat tecum æneus tuus. Constans enim et in commotabilis homo es insuper et partem illam agri quam olim petisti do tibi nunc quantum habeo et inhabita ibi et illa est civitas quæ nunc *Arddmachæ* nominatur et exierunt ambo Sanctus Patricius et *Daire* ut considerarent mirabiles oblationes et beneplacitum munus et ascenderent illam altitudinem terræ invenieruntque cervam cum vitulo suo parvo jaciente in loco in quo nunc altare est sinistralis ecclesiæ in *Arddmachæ* et voluerunt comites Patricii temere vitulum et occidere sed noluit sanctus neque permisit quin potius ipsemet sanctus tenuit vitulum portans eum in humeris suis et secuta illum cerva velut amantissimaque ovis usque dum dimisserat vitulum in altero saltu situm ad aquilonalem plagam *Arddmachæ* ubi usque hodie signa quædam virtutis esse manentia periti dicunt.

Virum aliquem valde durum et tam avarum in campo *Inis* habitantem iterum stultitiæ avaritiæque inacurisse crimen periti ferunt ut duo boves carrarum Patricii vehentes alio die. Post sanctum laborem in pastu agili sui requiescentibus pascentibusque se bobus violenter in constanter presente Sancto Patricio van : ille homo per vim coegit. Cui irascens Sanctus Patricius cum maladictione dixit *Mudebrod* malefecisti nusquam proficiat vel ager hic tuus neque semiti tuo in æternum. Jam inutilis erit et factum est sic inundatio et enim maris tam habunda eodem veniens die circumluit et operuit totam agrum et posito est juxta profetæ verbum terra fructifera in salsuginem a malitia inhabitantis in ea arenossa ergo et infructuosa hæc a die qua maledixit eam Sanctus Patricius usque in hodiernam diem.

Finit primus incipit secundus liber.

DE Patricii diligentia orationis.

De mortuo ad se loquente.

De inluminatio dominica nocte ut equi inventi sunt.

De eo quod angelus eum prohibuit ne in nichil moriretur.

De rubo ardente in qua erat angelus.

De quatuor Patricii petitionibus.

De die mortis ejus et de tempore vitæ triginta annorum.

De termino contra noctem posito.

De caligine duodecem noctium abstersa.

De vigiliis primæ noctis juxta corpus Patricii quas angeli fecerunt.

De consilio sepulturæ ejus ab angelo.

De sepulcro igne de sepulchro ejus erumpente.

De fretto rursus surgente ut non bellum de corpore fieret.

De felici seductione populorum si quis autem terminum contra noctem et noctem non visum esse in tota provincia brevi tempore in quo luctus Patricii peractus est abnegare infideliter voluit audiat et diligenter attendat qualiter *Ezechias* languente in horalogio *Achaz* demonstrare sapientis judicio.

DILIGENTIA ORATIONIS.

OMNES psalmos et ymuos et apocalipsin Johannis et omnia kantica spiritualia scripturarum cotidie decantans sive manens aut in itinere pergens tropeo etiam crucis in omni horæ dies noctisque centies se signans et ad omnis cruces quascumque vidisset orationis gratia de curru descendens declinabit inde etiam in die quadam ingrediens crucem quæ erat juxta viam sitam non videns prætergressus est. Hanc tunc auriga videt et illi dixit cum ad hospitium quoddam quo tenderat pervenissent et orare ante prandium cepissent dixit inquam auriga vidi crucem juxta viam per quam venimus positam. At ille Patricius dimisso hospitio per viam quam venerat ad crucem pergens oravit et sepulchrum ibi viderat et mortuum in illo busto sepultum interrogavit qui morte abierat et sub fide vixerat respondit mortuus gentilis vixi et hic sepultus fui.

Quædam etiam mulier in alia provincia degens mortuum filium qui se longui separatus erat habuit ex illa absente sepultus est at post aliquot dies lugens mater omissum filium plunxit et indecreto errore sepulchrum gentilis hominis sui filii bustum esse putans crucem non juxta gentilem posuit et ob hanc causam ut Patricius dixit crucem non viderat quia sepulturæ gentilis locis fuit et virtus major inde surrexerat ut mortuus loqueretur et qui sub fide defunctus erat Christi scieretur et juxta illum alme crucis fieret meritum signo in vero termino posito.

Consuetudo autem illi erat ut a vespere dominicæ noctis usque ad mane secundæ feriæ Patricius non ambularet inde in quadam dominica die honora sacri temporis in campo pernoctans gravis pluvia cum tempestate accelerat. Sed cum gravis pluvia in tota patria populata est in loco uti Sanctus epis-

copus pernoctabat siccitus erat sicut in conca et in vellere *Gedeon* accederat auriga memorat equos amissos quasi amicos caros plangit quia illos querere tenebris arcantibus visum non poterat inde pietas Patricii patris pii mota est et flebili aurigæ dixit.

Deus in angustis in opportunitatibus adjutor promptus adiutorium prestat et equos quos ploras inuenies ex hinc manum spolians manica extensam. Jugulavit elevavit et quinque digiti sibi luminaria ita proxima quoque in luxerat et per lucem extensæ manus equos quos commiserat auriga solito gemitu invenit sed hoc miraculum auriga comes usque ad Patricii obitum absconderet.

Post vero miracula tanta quæ alibi scripta sunt et quæ oræ fidei mundus celebrat ad propinquantem diem mortis ejus venit ad eum angelus et dixit illi de morte sua ideo ad *Ardmacha* missit qui præ omnibus terris delexit ideo mandavit ut venirent ad eum viri multi ad eundem deducendam quo voluit inde cum comitibus suis iter corpore cepit *Ardmachi* voluntarie tellurem cupitam satis sed juxta viam rubus quædam arserat et non comburetur sicut antea Moses pervenerat in rubo Victor erat angelus qui Patricium sæpe visitare solebat et Victor alterum angelum ad Patricium prohibendum ne pergat quo pergere cupit missit et dixit illi quare proficisceris sine Victoris consilio quamobrem Victor te vocat et ad eum declina et ut ei jussum est declinavit et quid facere deberet interrogavit et respondit angelus dixerat revertere ad locum unde venis hoc est *Sabul* et datæ sunt quatuor petitiones tibi quas petis ei.

Prima petitio ut in *Ardmacha* fiat ordinatio tua.

Secunda petitio ut quicumque ymnus qui de te compositus est in die exitus de corpore cantaverit tu judicabis penitentiam ejus de suis peccatis.

Tertia petitio ut nepotes *Dichon* qui te *Benigne* susceperunt misericordiam mereantur et non pereant.

Quarta petitio ut Hibernenses omnes in dii iudicii a te iudicenter sicut dicitur ad apostolos. Et vos sedentes judicabitis duodecim tribubus Israel et eos quibus apostolis fuerunt iudices fuistis.

Revertere igitur sicut tibi dico et moriens ingrederis viam patrum tuorum quod in die XVI calendis Aprilis peractus totius ejus vite annis

cxx. et provenerat sicut omnibus totius Hiberniæ annis celebratur et contra noctem terminum pones quia in illa die mortis ejus nox non erat et per duodecimas dies in illa provincia in qua mortis ejus exequiæ peractæ sunt nox non irruit et fuscis tellurem non amplexerat alis et pallor non tantus erat noctis et astri fortis non induxerat bosferus umbras. Et plebs *Ulod* dixerunt quod usque in finem anni totius in quo abierat nunquam noctium tales tenebræ erant quales antea fuerant. Quod ad tanti viri meritum declarandum esse dubium est vi. Ad propinquantem autem hora obitus sui sacrificium ab episcopo *Tassach* sicut illi *Victor* anguelus dixit ad viaticum beate vitæ accipiat.

In prima nocte exequiarum ejus angueli vigilias salmi corporis fecerunt in vigiliarum et psalmorum moribus omnibus quicumque ad vigilias in illa prima nocte veniebant dormientibus homines orantes et psalmos cantantes corpus custodierunt.

Postquam autem in cælum profecti sunt angueli odorem suavissimum quasi mellis et fragrantiam dulcedinis quasi vini dimisserunt ut impleretur quod in benedictione beatæ patriarchæ *Jacob* dictum est. Ecce odor filii mei tamque odor agri pleni quam benedixit Dominus viii.

Quando autem anguelus ad eum venit consilium sepulturæ dedit illi eleganter duas boves indomiti et pergant quocumque voluerint et ubi cumque requiescunt ecclesiæ in honorem corpusculi tui edificetur et sicut anguelus dixit instabiles electi sunt juvenci et stabili plaustrum gestamine humeris impositum esse sancto corpore vechunt et a loco qui *Clocher* vocatur ab oriente *Findubrec* de pecoribus *Conail* electio clarificavit boves et exierunt dei natu regente ad *Dun leth glaisse* ubi sepultus est Patricius et dixit ei ne reliquiæ a terra reducuntur corporis tui et cubitus de terra super corpore fiat quod jussu dei factum in novissimis demonstratum est temporibus quia quando ecclesia super corpore facta est fodientes humum antropi ignem a sepulcro inrumpere viderunt et recedentes flammi geram timuerunt flamme ignem.

De reliquis Sancti Patricii in tempore obitus sui dira contentio ad bellum usque perveniens inter nepotes *Niell* et orientales ex una parte inter aliquando propincales et propinquos nunc inter dirissimos hostes irarum intrat certamen secundum fretum quoddam quod *Collum Bovis* vocatur merito Patricii sanguis effunderetur et misericordiæ dei altis crispantibus quæ intumescabant fluctibus et undarum vertices concave rumpebant æra et dorsa in fluctibus tremula aliquam crispanti rissu et

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aliquando flavis vallibus in certamine ruebat quasi ad cohibendam animositatem gentium dirare tales enim populi sunt surrexit freti feritas et plebem pugnari prohibuit. Postea autem sepulto Patricio ei freti tumore sepulto orientales et contra *Ula* nepotes *Nell* acriter ad certamen ruunt et certatim preparati et armati ad bellum ad locum beati corporis prorumperat sicut felici seducti sunt fallacia. putantes se duos boves et plaustrum invenire et corpus sanctum rupere aestimabunt et cum corpore et tali preparata et armatura usque ad *fluvium Cabcehna* pervenerunt et corpus tunc illis non comparuit impossibile enim ut de tanto ac de beato corpore pax fieret nisi dei natu taliter videretur vissio ad temporum distensa ne quod animarum salus innumerabilium in exitum et mortem ut testetur felici fallacia ostensum est sicut *Siri* antea excæcati ne sanctam profetam *Heleseum* occiderent ad *Heleseum* divina provisione ad *Samariam* usque ducti sunt hæc etiam seductio ad concordiam populorum facta est.

Iterum recurrit oratio anguelus in omni septima die septimane semper venire consuerat et sicut homo cum homine loquitur iter conloquio angeli fruebatur Patricius etiam in *xiii* anno etatis captus et *vi* annos servivit et per *xxx* vices conductionem anguelus ad eum venerat et consiliis atque conloquiis fruebatur anguelicis antequam de *Scotia* ad *Latinos* pergeret centies in die et centies in nocte orabat aliquando sues custodiens perdidit eas et anguelus veniens ad eum sues indicavit illi aliquando etiam anguelus illi loquens multa illi dixit et postquam illi locutus est pedem super petram ponens *Inscirit* in montem *Mis* coram se ascendit vestigia pedes angeli in petra huc usque manentia cernuntur et in illo loco *xxx* vicibus ad eum locutus est et illi locus et ibi fidelium preces fructum felicissimum obtinerit.

FINIT AMEN.

Portavit Patricius per *Sinhn* secum *l* clocos *l* patinos *l* calices altaria libros legis evangelii libros et reliquit illos in locis novis.

Patricius *vi* anno baptizatus est *xx* captus est *xii* servivit *xl* legit *lxi* docuit tota vero etas ejus *cxi*.

Hæc Constans in Gallis invenit.

Patricius venit de campo *Arthicc* ad *Dramnut Cerigi* et ad *Namniu Toisclart* ad *Allich Esrachtae* et viderunt illum cum viris *viii*. aut *ix*. cum

Visso itaque Patricio vocatus est agentibus ad vescendum ut probarent eum inventuris rebus ille autem sciens quæ ventura essent non refellet vesci.

Cœnantibus autem omnibus ille magus *Lucetmail* qui fuerat in nocturna confictione etiam in illa die sollicitus est extincto consocio suo configere adversus Sanctum Patricium et ut initium causæ haberet in-tuentibus aliis immisit aliquid ex vasse suo in poculum Patricii ut probaret quid faceret.

Vidensque Sanctus Patricius hoc probationis genus videntibus cunctis benedixit poculum suum et versus est liquor in modum gelu et converso vasse cecidit gutta illa tantum quam immisserat magus et iterum benedixit poculum conversus est liquor in naturam et mirati sunt omnes.

Et post paululum ait magus faciamus signa super hunc campum maximum in hoc campo maximo respondensque Patricius ait quæ et dixit magus inducamus nivem super terram et ait pater nolo contraria voluntati deo inducere et dixit magus ego inducam videntibus cunctis tunc incantationes magicus exorsus induxit nivem super totam campum pertinentem *Ferenn* et viderunt omnes et mirati sunt. Et ait Sanctus ecce videmus hoc deponere nunc et dixit ante istam horam cras non possum deponere et ait sanctus potes malum et non bonum facere non sic ego tunc benedicens per totum circuitum campum dicto citius absque ulla pluvia aut nebulis aut vento evanuit nix. Exclamaverunt turbæ et mirati sunt corde. Et paulo post invocatis demonibus induxit magus densissimas tenebras super terram in signum et mormuraverunt omnes et ait Sanctus expelli tenebras at ille similiter non poterat. Sanctus autem orans benedixit et reppente expulsæ sunt tenebræ et refulget sol et exclamaverunt omnes et gratias egerunt. His autem omnibus in conspectu regis inter magum Patriciumque ait Rex ad illos libros vestros in aquam mittite et illum cujus libri in lessi evasserunt adorabimus. Respondit Patricius faciam ego et dixit magus nolo ego ad judicium aquæ venire cum isto aquam enim deum habet certe audivit baptisma per aquam a Patricio datum et respondens rex ait permitte per ignem et ait Patricius prumptus sum et magus nolens dixit hic homo versa vice in alternos annos nunc aquam nunc ignem deum veneratur et ait Sanctus non sic sed tu ipse ibis et unus ex meis pueris ibi tecum in separatam et conclaussam domum et meum erga te et tuum erga me erit vestimentum et sic simul incendimini et hoc consilium inædit et ædificata est eis domus cujus dimidium ex materia viridi et alterum dimidium ex arida facta est et missus est magus

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In xxii anno ætatis laboris magis relinquere potuit vii aliis annis ambulavit et navigavit in fluctibus et in campistribus locis et in convallibus montanis per Gallias atque Italiam totam atque in insolis quæ sunt in mari Terreno ut ipse dixit in commemoratione laborum. Erat autem in una ex insolis quæ dicitur Aralanensis annis xxx mihi testante Ultano episcopo. Omnia autem quæ evererunt invenietis in plana illius historia scripta. Hæc sunt novissima illius mirabilia in ii regui anno Logairi mac Neill finita atque feliciter facta.

A passione autem Christi colleguntur anni ccccxxvi usque ad mortem Patricii.

Duobus autem vel v annis regnavit Loigaire post mortem Patricii.

Omnis autem regni illius tempus xxxiii ut putamus.

Venit vero Patricius cum Gallis ad insolas mac Euchor et insola orientali quæ dicitur insola Patricii et secum fuit multitudo episcoporum *sanctorum* et presbyterorum et diaconorum ac exorcistarum hostiariorum lectorumque nec non filiorum quos ordinavit.

Ascendit autem de mari ad campum *Breg* sole orto cum benedictione dei cum vero sole mire doctrine densas tenebras ignorantie inluminans ad Hiberniam ingens Lucifer sanctus episcopus oritur et antifana assiduo erat ei de fine ad finem in nomine domini dei patris et filii atque spiritu sancti Jesu Christi benigni hoc autem dicitur in Scotica lingua *Ochen*.

Primo vero venit ad vallem *Sescnani* et edificavit ibi ecclesiam primam et portavit filium *Sesceneum* nomine Episcopum secum et reliquit ibi ii pueros peregrinos. Vespere vero venit ad hostium *Ailbine* ad quendam virum bonum et baptizavit illum et invenit cum illo filium placitum sibi et dedit illi nomen Benignum quia collegebat pedes Patricii inter manus suas et pectus et noluit dormire apud patrem et matrem sed flevit nisi cum Patricio dormiret. Mane autem facto cum surgeret completa benedictione super patrem Benigni Patricius currum conscendit et pedes illius diverso alter in curru et alterum super terram erat et Benignus puer pedem Patricii tenuit duobus manibus strictis et clamavit sinite te me apud Patricium patrem proprium mihi et dixit Patricius baptizate eum et elevate eum in curru quia heres regni mei est. Ipse est Benignus episcopus successor Patricii in ecclesiæ Machæ.

De episcoporum numero quos ordinavit in Hibernia ecccl.

De presbyteris non possumus coordinare quia baptizabat cotidie homines et illis litteras legebat ac abgatorias et de aliis episcopos ac presbyteros faciebat quia in etate propria baptismum acceperant sobria.

DE EPISCOPIS.

Benignus.	Bressialius.
Bronus.	Feccus.
Sachellus.	Menathus.
Cethiacus.	Cennannus.
Carthacus.	Nazarus.
Cartenus.	Melus.
Connanus.	Maceleus.
Fintranus.	Mactaleus.
Siggeus.	Culeneus.
Æternus.	Asacus.
Sencaticus.	Bitheus.
Olcanus.	Falertus.
Iborus.	Sescneus.
Ordus.	Muirehthchus.
Nazarius.	Temoreris qui fundavit ec-
Miserneus.	clesiam sanctam Cairce quia
Senachus.	tenuit familia Clonoaviss.
Secundinus.	Daigneus.
Gosachus.	Justianus Mac Hii Daimeni.
Camulacus.	Oloacnus.
Auxilius.	Domnallus et alii quam plu-
Victoricus.	rimi.

DE PRESBYTERIS.

Anicius.	Catus.
Brocidius.	Çatanus.
Amergenus.	Brosus.
Lommanus.	Ailbeus.
Catideus.	Trianus.

DE NOMINIBUS EPISCOPORUM FRANCORUM PATRICII
EPISCOPI TRES.

Inepius.

Bernicius.

Hernicius.

DE SUBDIACONIS.

Seman.

Brocanus.

Semen.

Roddanus.

Cancen.

Brigson.

Bernicius diaconus et Ernicius

et alter Roddanus qui fun-

Franci viri xii. cum sorore
una aut vi. vel. iii.davit ecclesiam Senem ne-
potem Alello quam tenuerunt
monachi Patricii Gen-
gen et Sannuch.

Casanus.

Coplung.

Erclung.

DE DIACONIS.

Diaconus Ivostus qui baptiz-
avit Ceraunum filium artifi-
cis ex liberis Patricii.Olcanus monachus qui fuit in
cellola magna *Mueda* pres-
piteri ii. exorcista scimus
apud illum exorcista *Losca*
in dorso *Dairi*.Diaconus Coimmanus Carus
Patricio qui fuit in eccle-
sia magna Ardlicce.

In regionibus *Tuirtri* exorcistæ alii in campo *Liphi*. De ecclesiis quas fundavit in campo *Breg* primum in Culmine ii ecclesiam *Cerus* in qua sepultus est *Hercus* qui portavit mortalitatem magnam iii in cacuminibus *Aisse* iiii in *Blaitiniu* v in *Collumbas* in qua ordinavit *Eugenium* Sanctum Episcopum vi ecclesiam filio *Laithphi* vii *Imbridam* in qua fuit sanctus dulcis frater *Carthaci* viii super *Angethor* in qua *Kannanus* episcopus quem ordinavit Patricius in primo Pascha *Hifferti* virorum *Feicc* qui portavit secum ignem primum benedictum ac ceriales lucernas primum Patricii de manibus portavit domi ut ascenderet fumum benedictum in oculos ac nares hominum gentilium et regis *Loigairi* et magorum illius quia contraverunt illi tres magi fratres ex uno viro nominibus et genere *Cruth Loch Lethlanii* de genere *Ruatir* qui fecerunt conflictionem magnam contra Patricium et Benignum cassula autem magi inflammata est circa Benignum et in cinerem finita erat. Sanctus quoque filius sanus effectus est

firma fide dei in conspectu regis et hominum et magorum cassula autem Benigni filii Patricii infixa est circa magum et inflammatus est magus in medio ac consumptus est et dixit Patricius in hac hora consumpta est gentilitas Hiberniæ tota et elevavit Patricius manus suas deo circa magum *Loch Letheum* et dixit Domine mi jece a me canem qui oblatrat faciem tuam et me eat in mortem et intenderunt omnes magum elevatum per tenebras nocturnales pœneusque ad cœlum sed reversus cadaver illius conglutinatum grandinibus et nivibus commixtum scintillis igneis in terram ante faciem omnium cecidit et est lapis illius in oris australibus orientalibusque usque in presentem diem et conspexi illum oculis meis.

Prima feria venit ad *Taltenam* ubi fit *Agon* regale ad *Coirpriticum* filium *Neill* qui voluit eum occidere et flagellavit servos ejus in flumine *Sele* ut indicarent Patricium *Coirpritico* quapropter appellabat illum patrem inimicum dei et dixit ei semen tuum serviet seminibus fratrum et non erit de semine tuo rex in æternum et non erunt pisces magni in flumine *Sele* semper.

Deinde autem venit ad *Conallum* filium *Neill* ad domum illius qui fundavit in loco in quo est hodie ecclesia Patricii magna et suscepit eum cum gaudio magno et baptizavit illum et firmavit solium ejus in æternum et dixit illi semen fratrum tuorum tuo semini serviet in æternum. Et tu missericordiam debes facere heredibus meis post me in sæculum et filii tui et filiorum tuorum filiis meis credulis legitimum sempiternum pensabatque ecclesiam deo Patricii pedibus ejus lx pedum et dixit Patricius si diminuat ecclesia ista non erit longum regnum tibi et firmum.

Pasca quoque clausa finita prima feria exiit ad vadum *Molæ Broon* et ibi ecclesiam fundavit in qua reliquit iii fratres cum una sorore et hæc sunt nomina illorum *Cathaceus Cathurus Catneus* et soror illorum *Catnea* quæ emulgebat lac ab dammulis feris ut senes mihi indicaverunt.

Perrexitque ad civitatem *Temro* ad *Loigarium* filium *Neill* iterum quia apud illum sædus pepigit ut non occideretur in regno illius sed non potuit credere dictus nam *Neill* pater meus non sinivit mihi credere sed ut sepeliar in cacuminibus *Temro* quasi viris consistentibus in bello quia utuntur gentiles in sepulcris armati prumptis armis facie ad faciem usque ad diem *Erdathe* apud magos id est in diei diem domini. Ego filius *Neill* et filius *Dunlinge Immaiften* in campo *Liphi* produritate odivi ut est hoc.

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Porro fundavit æcclesiam *Icarric Dagri* et alteram ecclesiam *Immrut Thuaithe* et scripsit elimenta *Cerpano* et intravit in domum regiam et non surrexerunt ante se nisi unus tantum hoc est *Hercus* sacrilegus et dixit illi. Cur tu solus surrexisti in honorem dei mei in me. Et dixit ei *Hercus* nescio quid video scintillas igneas de labiis tuis accendere in labia mea. Sanctus quoque dixit si *baptizaris* domini accipies quod mecum est respondit accipiam et venierunt ad fontem *Loigles* in *Scotica* nobiscum vitulus civitatum. Cumque apernisset librum atque baptizasset virum *Hercum* audivit viros post tergum suum se inredientes ad invicem de rei illius consideratione quia nescierunt quid fecerat et baptizavit tot milia hominum in die illa et intercæteras baptismatis sententias audivit. Ecce ii namque viri nobiles confabulabantur post tergum sibi et dixit alter alteri verum est quod dixisti a circulo anni quæ præterit ut venisses huc in illis diebus.

Dic mihi nomen tuum quæso et patris tui et agri tui et campi tui et ubi est domus tua. Respondens filius *Amolngid* sum ego filius *Fechrach* filii *Echack* ab occidentalibus plagis de campo *Donnon* et de silva *Fochloth*. Cumque audisset patris nomen silvæ *Fochlothi* gavissus est valde et dixit Endeus *Amolngid* filio et ego tecum exibo si vivus fuero quia dixit mihi dominus exire et dixit Endeus non exhibis mecum ne occidamur ad invicem Sanctus quoque dixit verum tamen nam quod vivus ad tuam regionem pervenies et tu nisi venero tecum et vitam æternam non habebis quia propter me venisti huc quasi *Joseph* ante filios *Israel*. Endeus autem dixit *Patricio* tu filio meo baptismum da quia tener est ego autem et fratres mei non possumus tibi credere usque dum ad nostrum plebem pervenerimus ne inrideant nos. *Conallus* autem baptizatus est et dedit *Patricius* benedictionem super illum et tenuit manum illius et dedit *Cethaco* episcopo et nutritivum illum et docuit eum *Cethiacus* et *Mucneus* frater *Cethiaci* episcopi cuius sunt reliquæ in ecclesia magna *Patricii* in silva *Fochlithi* propter hoc mandavit *Conallo* insulam suam *Cethiacus* et generis illius est usque in presentem diem quia laicus fuit post mortem *Cethichi* sancti.

Venierunt autem filii *Amolngid* sex ad iudicandum ante faciem *Loigarii* et *Endeus* contra eos unus et filius ejus tener et *Patricius* ante illos et interrogaverunt vestigaverunt causam hereditatis illorum et iudicavit illis *Loigaire* et *Patricius* ut dividerent inter se hereditatem in septem partes et dixit *Endeus* filium meum et partem hereditatis mee ego immolo deo *Patricii* et *Patricio* per hoc dicunt alii quia servi sumus *Patricii* usque in presentem diem sædus pepigerunt per manus *Loigairi* filii *Neill* *Patricius* et filii *Amolngid* cum exercitu laicorum episcopis sanctorum et inierunt

iter facere ad montem *Egle* et extendit *Patricius* etiam pretium duodecem armatorum hominum ut inscriptione sua adfirmat de argento et auro ut nullum malorum hominum impediret eos in via recta transeuntes totam *Hiberniam*. Quia necessitas poscit illos ut pervenirent silvam *Fochlithi* ante caput anni pasce secunda causa filiorum clamantium clamore magno nocens audivit in utero matrum suarum dicentium veni Sancte *Patrici* salvos nos facere.

Plantavit æcclesiam super vadum *Segt* alteram æcclesiam *Cinnena Sancta* super vadum *Carnoi Imboind* et altera super *Coirp Railhe* et altera super fossam *Dall Bronig* quam tenuit episcopus filius *Cartin* avunculus *Brigitæ* Sanctæ. Fundavitque alteram in campo *Echredd* alteram in campo *Taidcni* quæ dicitur *Cellbile* apud familiam *Scirest* alteram in campo *Echnach* in qua fuit *Cassanus* presbyter alteram in *Singitibus*. Alteram in campo *Bili* juxta vadum *Capitis Canis* alteram in capite *Carmelli* in campo *Teloch* in qua Sancta *Brigita* pallium cepit sub manibus filii *Caille*. In *Huiniuch Midi* mansit juxta *Petram Coithrigi* sed occisi sunt circa se alii perigrini a filio *Fechach* filii *Neill* cui maledixit dicens non erit de stirpe tua rex sed servies semini fratrum tuorum. Et alteram ecclesiam in capite *Airt* in regionibus *Roid* in qua posuit altare lapideum et alteram *Hicuil Corre* et venit per flumen *Ethne* in ii *Tethbias* et ordinavit *Melum* episcopum et ecclesiam *Bili* fundavit et ordinavit *Gosactum* filium *Milcan mac Cubooin* quem nutrit in servitute septem annorum et mittens *Camulacum* Commiensium in campum *Cuini* et digito illi indicavit locum de cacumine *Graneret* id est ecclesiam *Raithin*.

Et venit in campum *Rein* et ordinavit *Bruscum* presbyterum et ecclesiam illi fundavit qui dixit mirabile post mortem ejus altero sancto qui fuit in insola generis *Cotirbi* benedictus est triduum filium tuum habes ego autem tedebebit me mors mea quia solus sum in æcclesia in deserto in æcclesia relicta ac vacua et non offerant juxta me sacerdotes in noctibus somnium faciens est tertio die surrexit sanctus et arripuit anulum et trullam ferrumque et sepulcri fossam fodivit et portavit ossa *Brusci* sancti secum ad insolam in qua sunt et restiant.

Mittens autem *Patricius Methbrain* ad fossam *Slecht* barbarum *Patricii* propinquum qui dicebat mirabilia in deo vera. Venitque *Patricius* ad alveum *Sinone* ad locum in quo mortuus fuit auriga illius *Boidmalus* et sepultus ibi in quo dicitur *Cail Boidmail* usque in hanc diem et immolatus erat *Patricio*.

Finit liber primus in regionibus nepotum *Neill* peractus. Incipit secundus in regionibus *Connacht* peractus.

OMNIA quæ scripsi a principio libri hujus scitis quia in vestris regionibus gesta sunt nisi de eis pauca quæ inveni inutilitatem laboris mei a senioribus multis ac ab illo *Ultano* episcopo *Conchubernensi* qui nutrit me retulit sermo. Cor autem meum cogitat in me. De Patricii dilectione quia video dissertores et archiclocos et milites Hiberniæ quod odio habent paruchiam Patricii quia subtraxerunt ab eo quod ipsius erat timent quæ quam si quæreret heres Patricii paruchiam illius potest pene totam inso- lam sibi reddere in paruchiam quam deus dedit illi.

I. Totam iasolam cum hominibus per angelum Domini.

II. Et legem domini docuit illis.

III. Et baptismo dei baptizavit illos.

IV. Et crucem Christi indicavit.

V. Et resurrectionem ejus nuntiavit sed familiam ejus non diligunt quia non licet jurare contra eum et super eum et de eo.

VI. Et non lignum licet contra eum mitti quia ipsius sunt omnia primitiæ ecclesiæ Hiberniæ sed juratur a se omne quod juratur.

Omnia autem quæ scripsi ab initio libri hujus simplicia sunt. Omne autem quod restat strictius erit.

Venit ergo Patricius sanctus per alveum fluminis *Sinne* per vadum duorum avium in campum *Ai*. Audientes autem magi *Loigairi* filii *Neill* omnia qua facta fuerunt *Calvus* et *Capito'anum* ii fratres qui nutrierant duas filias *Loigairi Ethne Alba Fedelm Nufa* timentes ne mores sancti viri acciperent indignati sunt valde tenebrasque nocturnales ac densas inaurinas super totum campum *Ai* fecerunt nescimus cujus potestatis hoc fuit sed scimus quod nox lingua trium dierum totum et noctium erat. Arripuitque sanctus jejunium tribus diebus et tribus noctibus cum centenis oraculis flectenisque assiduis deum regem regum rogabat et discessit omnis gravitudo magica tenebrarum a campo *Ai* et dixit deo gratias et venerunt per alveum fluminis *Sinnæ* quæ dicitur *Bandea* ad tumulum *Gradi* in quo loco ordinavit *Albeum* sanctum prespiterum cui indicavit altare mi-

cxx. et provenerat sicut omnibus totius Hiberniæ annis celebratur et contra noctem terminum pones quia in illa die mortis ejus nox non erat et per duodecimas dies in illa provincia in qua mortis ejus exequiæ peractæ sunt nox non irruit et fuscis tellurem non amplexerat alis et pallor non tantus erat noctis et astri fortis non induxerat bosferus umbras. Et plebs *Ulod* dixerunt quod usque in finem anni totius in quo abierat nunquam noctium tales tenebræ erant quales antea fuerant. Quod ad tanti viri meritum declarandum esse dubium est vi. Ad propinquantem autem hora obitus sui sacrificium ab episcopo *Tassach* sicut illi *Victor* anguelus dixit ad viaticum beate vitæ accipiat.

In prima nocte exequiarum ejus angueli vigiliis salmi corporis fecerunt in vigiliarum et psalmorum moribus omnibus quicumque ad vigiliis in illa prima nocte veniebant dormientibus homines orantes et psalmos cantantes corpus custodierunt.

Postquam autem in cælum profecti sunt angueli odorem suavissimum quasi mellis et fragrantiam dulcedinis quasi vini dimisserunt ut impleretur quod in benedictione beatæ patriarchæ *Jacob* dictum est. Ecce odor filii mei tamque odor agri pleni quam benedixit Dominus viii.

Quando autem anguelus ad eum venit consilium sepulturæ dedit illi eleganter duas boves indomiti et pergant quocumque voluerint et ubi cumque requiescunt ecclesiæ in honorem corpusculi tui edificetur et sicut anguelus dixit instabiles electi sunt juvenci et stabili plaustrum gestamine humeris impositum esse sancto corpore vechunt et a loco qui *Clocher* vocatur ab oriente *Findubrec* de pecoribus *Conail* electio clarificavit boves et exierunt dei natu regente ad *Dun leth glaisse* ubi sepultus est Patricius et dixit ei ne reliquiæ a terra reducuntur corporis tui et cubitus de terra super corpore fiat quod jussu dei factum in novissimis demonstratum est temporibus quia quando ecclesia super corpore facta est fodientes humum antropi ignem a sepulcro inrumpere viderunt et recedentes flammi geram timuerunt flamme ignem.

De reliquis Sancti Patricii in tempore obitus sui dira contentio ad bellum usque perveniens inter nepotes *Niell* et orientales ex una parte inter aliquando propinquales et propinquos nunc inter dirissimos hostes irarum intrat certamen secundum fretum quoddam quod *Collum Bovis* vocatur merito Patricii sanguis effunderetur et misericordiæ dei altis crispantibus quæ intumescebant fluctibus et undarum vertices concave rumpebant æra et dorsa in fluctibus tremula aliquam crispanti rissu et

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aliquando flavis vallibus in certamine ruebat quasi ad cohibendam animositatem gentium dirare tales enim populi sunt surrexit freti feritas et plebem pugnari prohibuit. Postea autem sepulto Patricio ei freti tumore sepulto orientales et contra *Ula* nepotes *Nell* acriter ad certamen ruunt et certatim preparati et armati ad bellum ad locum beati corporis prorumperat sicut felici seducti sunt fallacia putantes se duos boves et plaustrum invenire et corpus sanctum rupere æstimabunt et cum corpore et tali preparata et armatura usque ad *fluvium Cabcehna* pervenerunt et corpus tunc illis non comparuit impossibile enim ut de tanto ac de beato corpore pax fieret nisi dei natu taliter videretur visio ad temporum distensa ne quod animarum salus innumerabilium in exitum et mortem ut testetur felici fallacia ostensum est sicut *Siri* antea excæcati ne sanctam prophetam *Heleseum* occiderent ad *Heleseum* divina provisione ad *Samarium* usque ducti sunt hæc etiam seductio ad concordiam populorum facta est.

Iterum recurrit oratio anguelus in omni septima die septimane semper venire consuevit et sicut homo cum homine loquitur iter conloquio angueli fruebatur Patricius etiam in XIII anno etatis captus et VI annos servivit et per xxx vices conductionem anguelus ad eum venerat et consiliis atque conloquiis fruebatur anguelicis antequam de *Scotia* ad *Latinos* pergeret centies in die et centies in nocte orabat aliquando sues custodiens perdidit eas et anguelus veniens ad eum sues indicavit illi aliquando etiam anguelus illi loquens multa illi dixit et postquam illi locutus est pedem super petram ponens *Inscirit* in montem *Mis* coram se ascendit vestigia pedes angueli in petra huc usque manentia cernuntur et in illo loco xxx vicibus ad eum locutus est et illi locus et ibi fidelium preces fructum felicissimum obtinerit.

FINIT AMEN.

Portavit Patricius per *Sinbn* secum L clocos L patinos L calices altaria libros legis evangelii libros et reliquit illos in locis novis.

Patricius vi anno baptizatus est xx captus est xii servivit xl legit lxi docuit tota vero etas ejus cxi.

Hæc Constans in Gallis invenit.

Patricius venit de campo *Arthicc* ad *Dramnut Cerigi* et ad *Namniu Totsclart* ad *Altch Esrachtae* et viderunt illum cum viris viii. aut ix. cum

tabulis in manibus scriptis more Moysaico exclamaverunt gentiles super illos ut sanctos occiderent et dixerunt gladios in manibus habent ad occidendos homines videntur lignei in die apud illos sed ferreos gladios estimamus ad effundendum sanguinem voluit multum bonum in malum facere in sanctos sed fuit vir misericors apud illos *Hercaith* nomine de genere *Nothi* pater *Fredachi* credidit deo Patricii et baptizabat illum Patricius et *Fredachum* filium ejus et immolavit filium Patricio et exivit cum Patricio ad legendum xxx annos et ordinavit illum in urbe Roma et dedit illi nomen novum *Sachellum* et scripsit illi librum psalmorum quam vidi et portavit ab illo partem de reliquiis Petri et Pauli Laurentii et Stefani quæ sunt in *Machi*. *Caetiarius* itaque et *Sachellus* ordinabant episcopis presbyteri diaconos clericos sine consilio Patricii in campo Asi et accursavit illos Patricius et mittens epistolas illis exierunt ad penitentiam ducti *Arddmachæ* ad Patricium et fecerunt penitentiam monachorum ii pueri Patricii prumpti et dixit eis non magnæ erunt ecclesiæ veræ.

Dicta Patricii.

Timorem dei habui ducem itineris mei per Gallias atque Italiam etiam in insolis quæ sunt in mari Terreno. De sæculo requisistis ad Parradisum deo gratias æcclesia Scotorum immo Romanorum, ut Christiani ita ut Romani sitis ut decantetur vobiscum. Oportet omni hora orationis vox illa laudabilis *Curie Lesson Christe Lesson* omnis ecclesiis quæ sequitur me cantet *Cyrie lesson Christe lesson* deo gratias.

Tirechani Annotationes.

Tirechan Episcopus hæc scripsit ex ore vel libro Ultani episcopis cujus ipse alumnus vel discipulus fuit.

Inveni quatuor nomina in libro scripta Patricio apud Ultanum episcopum Conchuburnensium Sanctus *Magonus* qui est *clarus*, *Succetus* qui est *Patricius Colthirthiac* quia servivit iiii domibus magorum et empsit illum unus ex eis cui nomen erat *Miliuc mac Cuboin* magus et servivit illi vii annis omni servitute ac duplici labore et porcarium possuit eum in montanis convallibus. Deinde autem visitavi illum anguelus domini in somniis in cacuminibus montis *Scirte* juxta montem *Miss*. Finita autem angeli sententia ecce navis tua parata surge et ambula et recessit ab illo in cælum surrexit et ambulavit et ut dixit illi anguelus domini Victor nomine in xvii. ætatis suæ anno captus ductus venditus est in Hiberniam.

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In xxii anno ætatis laboris magis relinquere potuit vii aliis annis ambulavit et navigavit in fluctibus et in campistribus locis et in convallibus montanis per Gallias atque Italiam totam atque in insolis quæ sunt in mari Terreno ut ipse dixit in commemoratione laborum. Erat autem in una ex insolis quæ dicitur Aralanensis annis xxx mihi testante Ultano episcopo. Omnia autem quæ evenerunt invenietis in plana illius historia scripta. Hæc sunt novissima illius mirabilia in ii regui anno Logairi mac Neill finita atque feliciter facta.

A passione autem Christi colleguntur anni ccccxvii usque ad mortem Patricii.

Duobus autem vel v annis regnavit Loigaire post mortem Patricii.

Omnis autem regni illius tempus xxxiii ut putamus.

Venit vero Patricius cum Gallis ad insolas mac Euchor et insola orientali quæ dicitur insola Patricii et secum fuit multitudo episcoporum *sanctorum* et presbyterorum et diaconorum ac exorcistarum hostiariorum lectorumque nec non filiorum quos ordinavit.

Ascendit autem de mari ad campum *Breg* sole orto cum benedictione dei cum vero sole mire doctrine densas tenebras ignorantie inluminans ad Hiberniam ingens Lucifer sanctus episcopus oritur et antifana assiduo erat ei de fine ad finem in nomine domini dei patris et filii atque spiritus sancti Jesu Christi benigni hoc autem dicitur in Scotica lingua *Ochen*.

Primo vero venit ad vallem *Sescnani* et edificavit ibi ecclesiam primam et portavit filium *Sesceneum* nomine Episcopum secum et reliquit ibi ii pueros peregrinos. Vespere vero venit ad hostium *Ailbine* ad quendam virum bonum et baptizavit illum et invenit cum illo filium placitum sibi et dedit illi nomen Benignum quia collegebat pedes Patricii inter manus suas et pectus et noluit dormire apud patrem et matrem sed flevit nisi cum Patricio dormiret. Mane autem facto cum surgeret completa benedictione super patrem Benigni Patricius currum conscendit et pedes illius diverso alter in curru et alterum super terram erat et Benignus puer pedem Patricii tenuit duobus manibus strictis et clamavit sinite te me apud Patricium patrem proprium mihi et dixit Patricius baptizate eum et elevate eum in curru quia heres regni mei est. Ipse est Benignus episcopus successor Patricii in ecclesiæ Machæ.

De episcoporum numero quos ordinavit in Hibernia ecccl.

De presbyteris non possumus coordinare quia baptizabat cotidie homines et illis litteras legebat ac abgatorias et de aliis episcopos ac presbyteros faciebat quia in etate propria baptismum acciperant sobria.

DE EPISCOPIIS.

Benignus.	Bressialius.
Bronus.	Feccus.
Sachellus.	Menathus.
Cethiacus.	Cennannus.
Carthacus.	Nazarus.
Cartenus.	Melus.
Connanus.	Maceleus.
Fintrannus.	Mactaleus.
Siggeus.	Culeneus.
CEternus.	Asacus.
Sencaticus.	Bitheus.
Olcanus.	Falertus.
Iborus.	Sescneus.
Ordinus.	Muirehthchus.
Nazarius.	Temoreris qui fundavit ec-
Miserneus.	clesiam sanctam Cairce quia
Senachus.	tenuit familia Clonoaviss.
Secundinus.	Daigneus.
Gosachus.	Justianus Mac Hii Daimeni.
Camylacus.	Oloacnus.
Auxilius.	Domnallus et alii quam plu-
Victoricus.	rimi.

DE PRESBYTERIS.

Anicius.	Catus.
Brocidius.	Çatanus.
Amergenus.	Brosçus.
Lommanus.	Ailbeus.
Catideus.	Trianus.

DE NOMINIBUS EPISCOPORUM FRANCORUM PATRICII
EPISCOPI TRES.

Inepius.

Bernicius.

Hernicius.

DE SUBDIACONIS.

Seman.

Brocanus.

Semen.

Roddanus.

Cancen.

Brigson.

Bernicius diaconus et Ernicius

et alter Roddanus qui fun-

Franci viri xii. cum sorore
una aut vi. vel. iii.

davit ecclesiam Senem ne-
potem Alello quam tenuerunt
monachi Patricii Gen-
gen et Sannuch.

Cassanus.

Coplung.

Erclung.

DE DIACONIS.

Diaconus Ivostus qui baptizavit
Ceraquum filium artificis ex
liberis Patricii.

Diaconus Coimmanus Carus
Patricio qui fuit in ecclesia
magna Ardlicce.

Olcanus monachus qui fuit in
cellola magna *Muide* pres-
piteri ii. exorcistas scimus
apud illum exorcista *Losca*
in dorso *Dairi*.

In regionibus *Tuirtri* exorcistæ alii in campo *Liphi*. De ecclesiis
quas fundavit in campo *Breg* primum in Culmine ii ecclesiam *Cerus* in qua
sepultus est *Hercus* qui portavit mortalitatem magnam iii in cacuminibus
Aisse iiii in *Blaitinis* v in *Collumbas* in qua ordinavit *Eugenium* Sanctum
Episcopum vi ecclesiam filio *Laithphi* vii *Imbridam* in qua fuit sanctus
dulcis frater *Carthaci* viii super *Agethar* in qua *Kannanus* episcopus
quem ordinavit Patricius in primo Pascha *Hifferti* virorum *Feicc* qui
portavit secum ignem primum benedictum ac ceriales lucernas primus
Patricii de manibus portavit domi ut ascenderet fumum benedictum in
oculos ac naves hominum gentilium et regis *Loigairi* et magorum illius
quia contraverunt illi tres magi fratres ex uno viro nominibus et genere
Cruth Loch Lethlanii de genere *Runtir* qui fecerunt confictionem magnam
contra Patricium et Benignum cassula autem magi inflammata est circa Be-
nignum et in cinerem finita erat. Sanctus quoque filius sanus effectus est

firma fide dei in conspectu regis et hominum et magorum cassula autem Benigni filii Patricii infixa est circa magum et inflammatus est magus in medio ac consumptus est. et dixit Patricius in hac hora consumpta est gentilitas Hiberniæ tota et elevavit Patricius manus suas deo circa magum *Loch Letheum* et dixit Domine mi jecce a me canem qui oblatrat faciem tuam et me eat in mortem et intenderunt omnes magum elevatum per tenebras nocturnales pœneusque ad cœlum sed reversus cadaver illius conglutinatum grandinibus et nivibus commixtum scintillis igneis in terram ante faciem omnium cecidit et est lapis illius in oris australibus orientalibusque usque in presentem diem et conspexi illum oculis meis.

Prima feria venit ad *Taltenam* ubi fit *Agôn* regale ad *Coirpriticum* filium *Neill* qui voluit eum occidere et flagellavit servos ejus in flumine *Sele* ut indicarent Patricium *Coirprítico* quapropter appellabat illum patrem inimicum dei et dixit ei semen tuum serviet seminibus fratrum et non erit de semine tuo rex in æternum et non erunt pisces magni in flumine *Sele* semper.

Deinde autem venit ad *Conallum* filium *Neill* ad domum illius qui fundavit in loco in quo est hodie ecclesia Patricii magna et suscepit eum cum gaudio magno et baptizavit illum et firmavit solium ejus in æternum et dixit illi semen fratrum tuorum tuo semini serviet in æternum. Et tu missericordiam debes facere heredibus meis post me in sæculum et filii tui et filiorum tuorum filiis meis credulis legitimum sempiternum pensabatque æcclesiam deo Patricii pedibus ejus lx pedum et dixit Patricius si diminuat ecclesia ista non erit longum regnum tibi et firmum.

Pasca quoque clausa finita prima feria exiit ad vadium *Molæ Broon* et ibi æcclesiam fundavit in qua reliquit iii fratres cum una sorore et hæc sunt nomina illorum *Cathaceus Cathurus Catneus* et soror illorum *Catnca* quæ emulgebat lac ab dammulis feris ut senes mihi indicaverunt.

Perrexitque ad civitatem *Temro* ad *Loigarium* filium *Neill* iterum quia apud illum fœdus pepigit ut non occideretur in regno illius sed non potuit credere dictus nam *Neill* pater meus non sinivit mihi credere sed ut sepeliar in cacuminibus *Temro* quasi viris consistentibus in bello quia utuntur gentiles in sepulcris armati promptis armis facie ad faciem usque ad diem *Erdathe* apud magos id est in diei diem domini. Ego filius *Neill* et filius *Dunlinge Immaiften* in campo *Liphi* produritate odivi ut est hoc.

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Porro fundavit æcclesiam *Icarric Dagri* et alteram ecclesiam *Immrutg Thuaithe* et scripsit elimenta Cerpano et intravit in domum regiam et non surrexerunt ante se nisi unus tantum hoc est *Hercus* sacrilegus et dixit illi. Cur tu solus surrexisti in honorem dei mei in me. Et dixit ei Hercus nescio quid video scintillas igneas de labiis tuis accendere in labia mea. Sanctus quoque dixit si *baptizaris* domini accipies quod mecum est respondit accipiam et venierunt ad fontem *Loigles* in Scotica nobiscum vitulus civitatum. Cumque aperuisset librum atque baptizasset virum *Hercum* audivit viros post tergum suum se inridentes ad invicem de rei illius consideratione quia nescierunt quid fecerat et baptizavit tot milia hominum in die illa et intercæteras baptismatis sententias audivit. Ecce ii namque viri nobiles confabulabantur post tergum sibi et dixit alter alteri verum est quod dixisti a circulo anni quæ præteriiit ut venisses huc in illis diebus.

Dic mihi nomen tuum quæso et patris tui et agri tui et campi tui et ubi est domus tua. Respondens filius *Amolngid* sum ego filius *Fechrach* filii *Echach* ab occidentalibus plagis de campo *Donmon* et de silva *Fochloth*. Cumque audisset patris nomen silvæ *Fochlothi* gavissus est valde et dixit Endeo *Amolngid* filio et ego tecum exhibeo si vivus fuero quia dixit mihi dominus exire et dixit Endeus non exhibis mecum ne occidamur ad invicem Sanctus quoque dixit verum tamen nam quod vivus ad tuam regionem pervenies et tu nisi venero tecum et vitam æternam non habebis quia propter me venisti huc quasi Joseph ante filios Israel. Endeus autem dixit Patricio tu filio meo baptismum da quia tener est ego autem et fratres mei non possumus tibi credere usque dum ad nostrum plebem pervenerimus ne inrideant nos. *Conallus* autem baptizatus est et dedit Patricius benedictionem super illum et tenuit manum illius et dedit *Cethaco* episcopo et nutritivum illum et docuit eum *Cethiacus* et *Mucneus* frater *Cethiaci* episcopi ejus sunt reliquæ in æcclesia magna Patricii in silva *Fochlithi* propter hoc mandavit Conallo insulam suam *Cethiacus* et generis illius est usque in presentem diem quia laicus fuit post mortem *Cethichi* sancti.

Venierunt autem filii *Amolngid* sex ad judicandum ante faciem *Loigairi* et *Endeus* contra eos unus et filius ejus tener et Patricius ante illos et interrogaverunt vestigaverunt causam hereditatis illorum et judicavit illis *Loigaire* et Patricius ut dividerent inter se hereditatem in septem partes et dixit *Endeus* filium meum et partem hereditatis meæ ego immolo deo Patricii et Patricio per hoc dicunt alii quia servi sumus Patricii usque in presentem diem fœdus pepigerunt per manus *Loigairi* filii *Neill* Patricius et filii *Amolngid* cum exercitu laicorum episcopis sanctorum et inierunt

iter facere ad montem *Egle* et extendit *Patricius* etiam pretium duodecem armatorum hominum ut inscriptione sua adfirmat de argento et auro ut nullum malorum hominum impediret eos in via recta transeuntes totam *Hiberniam*. Quia necessitas poscit illos ut pervenirent silvam *Fochlithi* ante caput anni pasce secunda causa filiorum clamantium clamore magno nocēs audivit in utero matrum suarum dicentium veni Sancte *Patrici* salvos nos facere.

Plantavit æcclesiam super vadum *Segt* alteram æcclesiam *Cinnena Sancta* super vadum *Carnoi Imboind* et altera super *Coirp Raithe* et altera super fossam *Dall Bronig* quam tenuit episcopus filius *Cartin* avunculus *Brigitæ* Sanctæ. Fundavitque alteram in campo *Echredd* alteram in campo *Taidni* quæ dicitur *Cellbile* apud familiam *Scirest* alteram in campo *Echnach* in qua fuit *Cassanus* presbyter alteram in *Singitibus*. Alteram in campo *Bili* juxta vadum *Capitis Canis* alteram in capite *Carmelli* in campo *Teloch* in qua Sancta *Brigita* pallium cepit sub manibus filii *Caille*. In *Huiniuch Midi* mansit juxta *Petram Colthrigt* sed occisi sunt circa se alii perigrini a filio *Fechach* filii *Neill* cui maledixit dicens non erit de stirpe tua rex sed servies semini fratrum tuorum. Et alteram ecclesiam in capite *Airt* in regionibus *Roide* in qua posuit altare lapideum et alteram *Hicuil Corre* et venit per flumen *Ethne* in ii *Tethbias* et ordinavit *Melum* episcopum et ecclesiam *Bili* fundavit et ordinavit *Gosactum* filium *Milcon mac Cuboin* quem nutrit in servitute septem annorum et mittens *Camulacum* Commiensium in campum *Cuini* et digito illi indicavit locum de cacumine *Graneret* id est ecclesiam *Raitthin*.

Et venit in campum *Rein* et ordinavit *Bruscum* presbyterum et ecclesiam illi fundavit qui dixit mirabile post mortem ejus altero sancto qui fuit in insola generis *Cotirbi* benedictus est triduum filium tuum habes ego autem tedeat me mors mea quia solus sum in æcclesia in deserto in æcclesia relicta ac vacua et non offerant juxta me sacerdotes in noctibus somnium faciens est tertio die surrexit sanctus et arripuit anulum et trullam ferrumque et sepulcri fossam fodivit et portavit ossa *Brusci* sancti secum ad insolam in qua sunt et restiant.

Mittens autem *Patricius Methbrain* ad fossam *Slecht* barbarum *Patricii* propinquum qui dicebat mirabilia in deo vera. Venitque *Patricius* ad alveum *Sinone* ad locum in quo mortuus fuit auriga illius *Boidmalus* et sepultus ibi in quo dicitur *Cail Boidmail* usque in hanc diem et immolatus erat *Patricio*.

Finit liber primus in regionibus nepotum *Neill* peractus. Incipit secundus in regionibus *Connacht* peractus.

OMNIA quæ scripsi a principio libri hujus scitis quia in vestris regionibus gesta sunt nisi de eis pauca quæ inveni inutilitatem laboris mei a senioribus multis ac ab illo *Ultano* episcopo *Conchubernensi* qui nutrit me retulit sermo. Cor autem meum cogitat in me. De Patricii dilectione quia video dissertores et archiclocos et milites Hiberniæ quod odio habent paruchiam Patricii quia subtraxerunt ab eo quod ipsius erat timent quæquam si quæreret heres Patricii paruchiam illius potest pene totam insulam sibi reddere in paruchiam quam deus dedit illi.

I. Totam iasolam cum hominibus per angelum Domini.

II. Et legem domini docuit illis.

III. Et baptismo dei baptizavit illos.

IV. Et crucem Christi indicavit.

V. Et resurrectionem ejus nuntiavit sed familiam ejus non diligunt quia non licet jurare contra eum et super eum et de eo.

VI. Et non lignum licet contra eum mitti quia ipsius sunt omnia primitiæ ecclesiæ Hiberniæ sed juratur a se omne quod juratur.

Omnia autem quæ scripsi ab initio libri hujus simplicia sunt. Omne autem quod restat strictius erit.

Venit ergo Patricius sanctus per alveum fluminis *Sinne* per vadum duorum avium in campum *Ai*. Audientes autem magi *Loigairi* filii *Neill* omnia qua facta fuerunt *Calvus* et *Capito'anum* ii fratres qui nutrierant duas filias *Loigairi Ethne Alba Fedelm Nufa* timentes ne mores sancti viri acciperent indignati sunt valde tenebrasque nocturnales ac densas inaurinas super totum campum *Ai* fecerunt nescimus cujus potestatis hoc fuit sed scimus quod nox longa trium dierum totum et noctium erat. Arripuitque sanctus jejunium tribus diebus et tribus noctibus cum centenis oculis flectentisque assiduus deum regem regum rogabat et discessit omnis gravitudo magica tenebrarum a campo *Ai* et dixit deo gratias et venerunt per alveum fluminis *Sinnæ* quæ dicitur *Bandea* ad tumulum *Gradi* in quo loco ordinavit *Albeum* sanctum prespiterum cui indicavit altare mi-

rabile lapideum in monte nepotum *Ailello* quia inter nepotes *Ailello* erat et baptizavit *Maneum* sanctum quem ordinavit episcopus *Bronus* filius *Icsi* servus dei socius *Patricii*. Venierunt ad campum *Glais* et in illo posuit cellolam magnam quæ sic vocatur cellula magna et in illa reliquit duos barbaros *Conteng* et *Ercleng* barbaros monachos sibi.

Deinde venit ad *Assicum* et *Bitium* et ad magos qui fuerunt de genere *Corcichon Luain Cone* et *Ith*, fratres alter suscepit *Patricium* et sanctos ejus cum gaudio et immolavit sibi domum suam.

Et exiit ad *Imbliuch Horton* quod dixit illi *Patricius* Semen tuum erit benedictum et de tuo semine erunt sacerdotes domini et principes digni in mea elimosina et tua hereditate et posuit ibi *Assicum* et *Betheum* filium fratres *Assici* et *Cipiam* matrem *Bethei* episcopi.

Asicus sanctus episcopus faber æreus erat *Patricio* et faciebat altaria bibliothecas quas faciebat in patinos sancti nostri pro honore *Patricii* episcopi et de illis tres patinos quadratos vidi id est patinum in æcclesia *Patricii* in *Arddmacha* et alterum in æcclesia *Alofind* et tertium in æcclesia magna *Saeoli* super altare *Felarti* sancti episcopi.

Asicus iste fecit profugam in aquilonem regionis ad montem lapidis et fuit septem annis in insolam quæ vocatur *Rochuil* retro montem lapidum et quærebant illum monachi sui et inveniunt eum in convallibus suis montanis juxta laborem artificiorum et abstraxerunt eum monachi ejus et mortuus erat apud illos in disertis montibus et sepelierunt eum *Hirraith Chungai Hisertib* et dedit rex illi et monachis suis post mortem fœnum centum vaccarium cum vitulis suis et bovum xx. immolatio æterna quia dixit quod non revertetur in campum *Ai* quia mendaciam ab illo dixerunt et sunt ossa ejus in campo *Sered Hirraith Chungi* monachus *Patricii* sed contenderunt eum familiæ *Columbæ Cille* et familia *Airdh Stratha*.

Patricius vero venit de fonte *Alofind addu Mecham* nepotem *Ailello* et fundavit in illo loco æcclesiam quæ sic vocatur *Senella cella Dumiche* usque hanc diem in quo reliquit viros sanctos *Macet* et *Cetgen* et *Rodanum* prespiterum.

Et venit apud se filia felix imperigrini nationem nomine *Mathona* soror *Benigni* successoris *Patricii* quæ tenuit pallium apud *Patricium* et *Rodanum* monacha fuit illis et exiit per montem filiorum *Ailello* et plantavit æcclesiam liberam *Hiitamnuch* et honorata fuerat a deo et hominibus et

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ipsa fecit amicitiam ad reliquias sancti *Rodanni* et successores illius epulabantur ad invicem.

Posthac autem posuerunt episcops juxta sanctam ecclesiam *Hitamnuch* quos ordinaverunt episcopi Patricii id est *Bronus* et *Beitheus* non quærebant aliquid a familia *Dumiche* nisi amicitiam tantummodo sed quærit familia *Clone* quia per vim tenuit locibus Patricii multos post mortalitates novissimas deinde autem venit sanctus Patricius ad fontem quæ dicitur *Clebach* in lateribus *Crochan* contra ortum solis ante ortum solis et sederunt juxta fontem et ecce duæ filiæ regis *Loigairi Ethne Alba* et *Fedelm Nufa* ad fontem more mulierum ad lavandum mane venerunt. Et Senodum sanctum episcopum cum Patricio juxta fontem inveniunt.

Et quocumque essent	Sed illos viros <i>Side</i>
aut quacumque forma	aut deorum terrenorum
aut quacumque plebe	aut fantassiam estimaverunt
aut quacumque regione non cognoverunt	et dixerunt filiæ illis.

Ubi vos sitis et unde venistis? Et dixit Patricius ad illas, Melior erat vos deo vero non confiteri quam de genere non interrogare?

Dixit filia prima. Quis est Deus? Et ubi est Deus? Et cujus est Deus? Et ubi habitaculum ejus? Si habet filios et filias aurum et argentum deus vester si vivus semper? Si pulcher? Si filium ejus nutrierunt multi? Si filiæ ejus caræ et pulchræ sunt hominibus mundi in cælo an in terra est?

In æquore	quomodo delegitur
in fluminibus	quomodo invenitur
in montanis	si in juventute
in convallibus	si in senectute
Dic nobis notitiâ ejus	invenitur.
quomodo videbitur	

Respondens autem Sanctus Patricius spiritu sancto plenus dixit.

Deus noster deus omnium hominum deus cæli ac terræ maris et fluminum deus solis ac lunæ omnium siderum deus montium sublimium valliumque humilium Deus super cælo et in cælo et sub cælo habet habitaculum erga cælum et terram et mare et omnia quæ sunt in eis.

Inspirat omnia
vivificat omnia

superat omnia
sufultat omnia.

Solis lumen illuminat lumen noctis et notitias valat et fontes fecit in arida terra et insolas in mari siccas et stellas in ministerium majorum luminum posuit. Filium habet coeternum sibi consimilem sibi nec junior filius patri nec pater filio senior et spiritus sanctus inflat in eis ne separationem pater et filius et spiritus sanctus.

Ego vero volo vos regi caelesti conjungere dum filiae regis terreni sitis credere et dixerunt filiae si ex uno ore unoque corde quomodo credere possimus caelesti regi doce nos diligentissime ut videamus illum facie ad faciem indica nobis et quomodo dixeris nobis faciamus. Et dixit Patricius si creditis per baptismum patris et matris jocere peccatum? Respondent credimus si poenitentiam creditis post peccatum? Credimus si creditis vitam post mortem? Si creditis resurrectionem in die judicii? Credimus.

Si creditis unitatem ecclesiae? Credimus.

Et baptizatae sunt et candida veste in capitibus eorum. Et postulaverunt videre faciem Christi et dixit eis sanctus nisi mortem gustaveritis non potestis videre faciem Christi et nisi sacrificium accipiet.

Et respondenda nobis sacrificium ut possimus filium nostrum sponsum videre et acciperunt ea charitatem dei et dormientium in morte et posuerunt illos in lectulo uno vestimentis cooperitis et fecerunt ululatum.

* * * * *

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Et venit in campum Caeri et castra metati sunt Icuil Core et plantavit ecclesiam in illo loco et baptizavit illos multos et exinde exiit ad campum Foinisen et invenit in illo loco duos fratres filios viri nominati Cogliud filius Luchti filii Conlaid et Derclaid qui mittebat servum suum ut occideret Patricium.

Lucteus autem liberavit eum cui dixit Patricius erunt episcopi et presbyteri de genere tuo. Generis autem fratris tui erit maledictum et difficiet in brevi. Et reliquit in illo loco Conanum prespiterum,

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Et exiit ad fontem *Stringille* in disertis et fuit super ipse duobus dominicis et exiit ad campum *Raithin* et exiit ad finem *Himail Duachud Fobuir* in quo fiunt episcopi et venit ad illum sancta filia quæ pallium tenuit apud Patricium et ordinavit filium patres illius *Senachus* et dedit nomen novam illi id est *Agnus Dei* episcopus fecit illum.

Et ipse postulavit tres postulationes a Patricio ut non peccaret sub gradu et non vocaretur nomen ejus super locum et deesset de illius ætate super ætatem filii sui veniret. *Oingis* nomine cui scripsit Patricius abgitorium in die qua ordinatus erat *Senachus* quia Patricius ordinavit æcclesiam in illo loco apud filiam *Mathonam* nomine et dixit illis erunt episcopi boni hic et de semine illorum erunt benedicti in secula in cathedra hac ipsa est *Achad Fobuir* et missam *Patricii* acciperunt.

Et perexit Patricius ad montem *Egli* ut jejunaret in illo xl diebus et xl noctibus. *Moysaicam* tenens disciplinam et *Helacum* et Christianam et defunctus est auriga illius *Himuirisc Aigli* hoc est campum inter mare et *Aigleum* et sepeliunt illum aurigam totum calvum et congregavit lapides erga sepulcrum et dixit sit sic in æternum et visitabitur a me in novissimis diebus. Et exiit Patricius ad cacumina montis super *Crochan Aigli* et mansit ibi xl diebus et xl noctibus et graves aves fuerunt erga illum et non poterat videre faciem cæli et terra et maris quia Hiberniæ sanctis omnibus preteritis presentatis futurus deus dixit.

Ascendite O Sancti super montem qui imminet et altior omnibus montibus qui sunt ad occidentem solis ad benedicendos Hibernia populos ut videret Patricius fructum sui laboris quia corus sanctorum omnium Hibernensium ad eum venit ad patrem eorum visitandum et plantavit æcclesiam in campo *Humail*.

Et venit in regiones *Corcutenne* ad fontem *Sini* in quo baptizavit milia hominum multa fundavit æcclesias iii *Toga*.

Et venit ad fontem *Findmaige* qui dicitur *Slan* quia indicatam illi quod honorabant magi fontem et immolaverunt dona ad illum in donum dii.

Fons vero quadratus fuit et petra quadrata erat in ore fontis et veniebat aqua super (erga) petram id est perglutinationes quasi vestigium regale et dixerunt increduli quod quidam profeta mortuus fecit bibliothecam sibi in aqua sub petra ut dealbaret ossa sua semper quia tenuit ignis

exustum quia adorabant fontem in modum dii. Et illicitum est Patricio causa adorationis et ipse solum dei habuit de deo vivo.

Dixit non verum quod dicitis quod rex aquarum fons erat quia dederunt illi nomen aquarum rex et congregati sunt magi et gentiles regionis illius et multitudo multa nimis ad fontem. Et Patricius ait illis elevate petram videamus quid sub est si ossa an non quia dico vobis sub ea ossa hominis non sunt sed puto aliquid de auro et argento perglutinationem petrarum minime de vestris reprobis immolationibus et non potuerunt immolare petram elevare.

Et benedixit Patricius et servi ejus petram et dixit Patricius multitudini procul recedite paulisper ut videatis virtutem dei mei qui in cœlis habitat et expectis manibus elevavit petram ex ore fontis et ponebat illam e regione super ora fontis et est semper et nihil invenierunt in fonte nisi aquam tantum et crediderunt deo summo et sedit juxta lapidem procul quam infixit vir quidam cui benedixit Patricius *Caeta* seu *Cata* nomine et baptizabat illum et dixit illi. Erit semen tuum benedictum in sæcula *Cellula Tog* in regionibus *Corcutemne* Patricii fuit *Cainneckus* episcopus monachus Patricii fundavit eam.

Et venit Sanctus Patricius per campos in regionibus *Maicc Hercæ Indichuil* et *Aurchuil*. Et venit Patricius *Indichuil* ad sepulchrum magnum magnitudinis miræ ingentemque longitudine quod invenit familia illius et magno stupore mirabantur pedes truxisse *cxx* et dixit non credimus hoc negotium quod erat homo longitudinis hujus et respondit Patricius et dixit. Si volueritis videbitis eum et dixerunt volumus et percussit baculo suo lapidem juxta caput ejus et signavit sepulchrum signaculo crucis et dixit.

Agnon sepulchrum et aperuit et vir sanctus surrexit magnus sanus et dixit bene sit

* * * * *

[MS. defaced.]

non possimus ut nobiscum tu ambulatis quia non possunt homines videre faciem tuam — timore tuo sed crede deo cœli et baptismum domini accipe et non reverteris in locum in quo fiebas et indica nobis cujus es.

Ego sum *Mucc maicc Cais maic glais* qui fui subulcus *Rig Lugir rig*

LIBER ARDMACHÆ—VITA S. PATRICII. XXXI

Hirotie jugulavit me Flan macc maicc con in regno Coirpri nióth fer anno. cujusque hodie et baptizatus est confessionem dei fecit et restituit et positus est iterum in sepulcro suo.

Et venit in album campum in regionibus nepotum *Maini* et invenit in illo signaculum crucis Christi in ii sepulcra nova et de curru suo sanctus dixit quis est qui sepultus hic ? et respondet vox de sepulcro ecce sum homo gentilis. Respondit sanctus. Cur juxta te crux sancta infixa est ? Et iterum respondit quia vir qui sepultus est juxta latus meum rogavit mater ejus ut signum crucis poneretur juxta sepulcrum filii sui. Vir fatuus et insensatus posuit juxta me et exilitur Patricius de curru suo et tenuit crucem et evellabat de gentili tumulto et posuit super faciem baptizati et ascendit super currum et oravit deum taciter. Cum dixisset libera nos a malo dixit illi auriga illius quid auriga illius inquit. Cur appellasti gentilem non baptizatum virum ?

Redeamus ad historiam nostram. Quia ingemescio virum sine baptismo melior erat apud deum illum benedicere vice baptismatis et effundere aquam baptismi super sepulcrum mortui et non respondit illi puto enim ideo eum reliquitur quia deus eum salvere noluit.

Per *Muadam* vero venit et ecce audierunt magi filiorum *Amolngid* quod sanctus vir venisset super eos in suas regiones proprias congregata est multitudo nimis magorum ad primum magum *Recradum* nomine qui voluit sanctum occidere Patricium. Et venit ad illos cum viiii magis induti vestibus albis cum hoste magico et viderunt illum procul Patricius et *Endeus* filius *Amolngid* et *Conallus Endi* filius quando baptizavit Patricius multitudinem nimium. Cumque vidisset *Endeus* surrexit arripuit arma ut magos repelleret quia ab illis erant magi transriolum aque nimium quasi milia passuum.

Missit autem Patricius *Conallum* filium *Endi* in obviam magis ut cognovissent illum ne alium occiderent et stetit juxta magum filius insignum et ecce vir sanctus surrexit Patricius et elevavit manum sinistram deo celi et maledixit magum et cecidit mortuus in medio magorum ejus et dispersus est vulgus in totum campum *Domnon* et exustus est ante faciem omnium in vindictæ signum. Cum viderunt omnes homines hoc miraculum et baptizavit multos in illa die et ordinavit *Mucneum* sanctum fratrem *Cethachi* et dedit illi libros legis vii quos reliquit post se *Macc Cerce* filio *Maic Dregin*. Et fundavit ecclesiam super silvam *Fochliith* in qua sunt ossa sanctus *Mucnoi* episcopi quia deus dixit illi ut legem relinquerent et

episcopis ordinaret ibi et presbyteris et diaconis in illa regione et benedixit *Amolngid* filium *Fergussum* fratrem *Endi* quia in agro ipsius virtutem fecit.

Et ecce quidam vir venit ad illos nomine *Macc Dregin* cum filiis VII. gentilibus et postulavit baptismum dei a Patricio et benedixit illum cum filiis et eligit unum filium ex ipsis cui nomen erat *Macc Erce* et scripsit elementa et benedixit eum benedictione patris. Et dixit pater filii tedit me si tecum exierit filius meus. Et ait Patricius non erit ita sed illum *Brono* filio *Icni* commendabo et *Olcano*. Extendit manum et indicavit ei locum in quo sunt ossa ejus procul et digito suo signavit locum et crucem posuit ibi. Et ecce ii filie venierunt ad Patricium et acciperunt pallium de manu ejus et benedixit illis locum super sylvam *Fochlethi*. Et ecce Patricius perrexit ad agrum quod dicitur *Foirrgea* filiorum *Amolngid* ad dividendum inter filios *Amolngid* et fecit ibi ecclesiam terrenam de humo quadratam quia non prope erat sylvam.

Et portaverunt ad illum mulierem infirmam habentem in utero infantem et baptizavit filium in utero matris aqua baptismi filii *ipsa est aqua communis mulieris* et sepelierunt eam in cacuminibus ecclesie desuper et est sedes ipsi sancti juxta ecclesiam usque in presentem diem et edificavit ecclesiam quandam apud familiam in sinu maris id est *Ros* filiorum *Caitni*.

Et reversus est ad flumen *Muide Denectrige* in *Bertrigian* et elavavit ibi lapidem in signaculum crucis Christi et dixit ecce hic invenietur aqua in novissimis diebus et habitabitur a me et fundavit ecclesiam juxta fossam *Rigbairt* et venit in *Muiriscain* apud *Bronum* filium *Icni* et benedixit filium qui est *Macc Rime* episcopus et scripserunt elementa illi et *Muir-ethacho* episcopus qui fuit super flumen *Bratho*.

Et venierunt trans litus *Authnili* in fines *Irei* Patricius et *Bronus* et cum illis filius *Erce* filii *Dregin* ad campum id est *Ros Dregnige* in quo loco est cassulus *Broni* et sedens ibi cecidit Patricii dens et dedit dentem *Brono* suo in reliquias.

Et dixit ecce mare jeciet nos de hoc loco innovissimis temporibus et exibitis ad flumen *Slicichæ* ad sylvam.

Et exiit trans montem filiorum *Aitello* et fundavit ecclesiam ibi *Tam-nach* et *Ehenach* et *Cell Angli* et *Cell Senchua*.

LIBER ARDMACHÆ—VITA S. PATRICII. xxxiii

Et exiit ad regiones *Caltrigi Trematige* et fecit æcclesiam juxta *Druith-leas* et baptizavit multos et erexit ad campum *Ailmaige* et fundavit æcclesiam ibi id est *Domnach Ailmaige* quia Patricius illic mansit tribus diebus et tribus noctibus.

Et perrexit ad campum *Aine* et posuit æcclesiam ibi et versus est *Evoi* et in campum *Cetni* et maledixit flumen quod dicitur *Niger Drobitcum* autem benedixit in quo tenentur magni pisces sub piscium gen * * * effectum est Flumen Drobiasco non habuit ante pisces sed postea piscatoribus fructum dat quia postulavit et nihil illi piscium dabant sancto.

Et maledixit aliis fluminibus id est flumini *Oingæ* et *Sæli* quia dimersi sunt ii pueri de pueris Patricii in *Sæli* quapropter hoc factum in commemorationem virtutis.

Etiam intravit in campum *Sereth* trans amnem inter *Esruaid* et mare et fundavit ecclesiam *Hirraith Argt* et castra metatus est in campo *Sereth* et invenit quendam virum bonum de genere *Lathron* et baptizavit eum et filium tenerum cum eo qui dicebatur *Hinu* vel *Ineus* quia posuit illum pater in fana super collum ejus quia natus est in via cum patre de monte veniens et baptizavit Patricius filium et scripsit illi abgatorium et benedixit eum benedictione episcopi qui postea retenuit *Asstcum* sanctum cum monachis suis in *Arđ Roissen* id est *Hirraith Congi* in Campo *Sereth* in tempore regum *Fergusso* et *Fothuid* et fundavit ecclesiam in campo *Latrain* et ecclesiam magnam *Sier Dromme* quam tenuit familia *Datrinse* in *Doburbur* et porrexit Forburnas filiorum Conill in campo *Itho* et fundavit ibi æcclesiam magnam et exiit ad campum *Tochuir* et fecit æcclesiam ibi et in quo loco quidam episcopus venit de genere Corcuthaimne ad eum de cellola *Toch* in regionibus *Temenrigi Icerit* contra solis occasum episcopus cum sorore una monachi Patricii et est locus eorum cum familia *Clono* et ingemescent viri loci illius.

Pervenit Patricius per *Sinonam* tribus vicibus et septem annos complevit in occidentali plaga et de campo *Tochuir* venit *Indulo Ochent* et fecit septem ecclesias ibi. Et venit in *Arđ Stratho* et *Macc Erceæ* episcopum ordinavit et exiit in *Arđ Eolergg* et *Ailgi* et *Læ Bendrigi* et perrexit trans flumen *Bandæ* et benedixit locum in quo est cellola *Cuille Railhin* in *Eilniu* in quo fuit episcopus et fecit alias cellas multas in *Eilniu*. Et per *Buas* fluvium foramen pertulit et in *Duin Sebutirgi* sedit super petram quam petra Patricii usque nunc et ordinavit ibi Olcanum sanctum episcopum quem nutrit Patricius et dedit illi partem de

episcopis ordinaret ibi et presbyteris et diaconis in illa regione et benedixit *Amolngid* filium *Fergussum* fratrem *Endi* quia in agro ipsius virtutem fecit.

Et ecce quidam vir venit ad illos nomine *Macc Dregin* cum filiis vii. gentilibus et postulavit baptismum dei a Patricio et benedixit illum cum filiis et eligit unum filium ex ipsis cui nomen erat *Macc Ercæ* et scripsit elementa et benedixit eum benedictione patris. Et dixit pater filii teduit me si tecum exierit filius meus. Et ait Patricius non erit ita sed illum *Brono* filio *Icni* commendabo et *Olcano*. Extendit manum et indicavit ei locum in quo sunt ossa ejus procul et digito suo signavit locum et crucem posuit ibi. Et ecce ii filie venierunt ad Patricium et acciperunt pallium de manu ejus et benedixit illis locum super sylvam *Fochlethi*. Et ecce Patricius perrexit ad agrum quod dicitur *Foirrgea* filiorum *Amolngid* ad dividendum inter filios *Amolngid* et fecit ibi æcclesiam terrenam de humo quadratam quia non prope erat sylvæ.

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Et venierunt trans litus *Authnili* in fines *Irei* Patricius et *Bronus* et cum illis filius *Ercæ* filii *Dregin* ad campum id est *Ros Dregnige* in quo loco est cassulus *Broni* et sedens ibi cecidit Patricii dens et dedit dentem *Brono* suo in reliquias.

Et dixit ecce mare jeciet nos de hoc loco innovissimis temporibus et exhibitis ad flumen *Slicichæ* ad sylvam.

Et exiit trans montem filiorum *Aillello* et fundavit æcclesiam ibi *Tam-nach* et *Ehenach* et *Cell Angli* et *Cell Senchuræ*.

LIBER ARDMACHÆ—VITA S. PATRICII. xxxiii

Et exiit ad regiones *Caltrigt Tremaige* et fecit æcclesiam juxta *Druht-leas* et baptizavit multos et erexit ad campum *Ailmaige* et fundavit æcclesiam ibi id est *Domnach Ailmaige* quia Patricius illic mansit tribus diebus et tribus noctibus.

Et perrexit ad campum *Aine* et posuit æcclesiam ibi et versus est *Evoit* et in campum *Cethi* et maledixit flumen quod dicitur *Niger Drobitcum* autem benedixit in quo tenentur magni pisces sub piscium gen * * * effectum est Flumen Drobiasco non habuit ante pisces sed postea piscatoribus fructum dat quia postulavit et nihil illi piscium dabant sancto.

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Etiā intravit in campum *Sereth* trans amnem inter *Esruaid* et mare et fundavit ecclesiam *Hirraith Argi* et castra metatus est in campo *Sereth* et invenit quendam virum bonum de genere *Lathron* et baptizavit eum et filium tenerum cum eo qui dicebatur *Hinu* vel *Ineus* quia posuit illum pater in fana super collum ejus quia natus est in via cum patre de monte veniens et baptizavit Patricius filium et scripsit illi abgatorium et benedixit eum benedictione episcopi qui postea retenuit *Assicum* sanctum cum monachis suis in *Ard Roissen* id est *Hirraith Congi* in Campo *Sereth* in tempore regum *Fergusso* et *Fothuid* et fundavit ecclesiam in campo *Latrain* et ecclesiam magnam *Sier Dromme* quam tenuit familia *Datrinse* in *Do-burbur* et porrexit Forburnas filiorum Conill in campo *Itho* et fundavit ibi æcclesiam magnam et exiit ad campum *Tochuir* et fecit æcclesiam ibi et in quo loco quidam episcopus venit de genere Corcutheimne ad eum de cellola *Toch* in regionibus *Temenrigi Icerit* contra solis occasum episcopus cum sorore una monachi Patricii et est locus eorum cum familia *Clono* et ingemescent viri loci illius.

Pervenit Patricius per *Sinonam* tribus vicibus et septem annos complevit in occidentali plaga et de campo *Tochuir* venit *Indulo Ochent* et fecit septem ecclesias ibi. Et venit in *Ard Stratho* et *Macc Erice* episcopum ordinavit et exiit in *Ard Eolergg* et *Ailgi* et *Lee Bendrigi* et perrexit trans flumen *Banda* et benedixit locum in quo est cellola *Cuille Railhin* in *Eilniu* in quo fuit episcopus et fecit alias cellas multas in *Eilniu*. Et per *Buas* fluvium foramen pertulit et in *Duin Sebuirgi* sedit super petram quam petra Patricii usque nunc et ordinavit ibi Olcanum sanctum episcopum quem nutrit Patricius et dedit illi partem de

reliquiis Petri et Pauli et aliorum et velum quod custodivit reliquias et reversus est in campum *Elni* et fecit reliquias multas ecclesias quas *Coin-diri* habent.

Ascendit autem ad montem *Miss Boonrig* quia nutriti ibi filium *Milcon Maccubuaia Gosacht* nomine et filias duas eidem viri quando erat in servitute IIII annorum et docuit illos in taciturnitate cum juramento pro timore magi sed alia nocte vidit magus *Miliucc* scintillas de ore *Succeti* fatui ignitas ascendentes in labia filii sui et inflammatum est totum corpus filii sui et de ore filii sui in ora sororum ejus. Cur inquit o serve malum fecisti filio meo in nocte quæ præteriiit.

Respondit *Succetus* domine mi quid vidisti os filii mei replisti igne et filius meus labia filiorum replevit et consumpti sunt omnes in cinerem et cinis eorum vivificavit multos et quasi aves volaverunt tecum et evomerunt in talia sua frustra. Respondit *Succetus* frustra vere evomerunt id demum magicam quia dedi in ora eorum verba dei mei excelsi. Et exiit ad montem *Scirts* ad locum petræ super quam vidit angelum domini stantem et vestigium pedis illius usque nunc pene adest. Cum ascendisset in cælum pedibus extensis de monte ad montem dixitque. Ecce navis tua parata est surge et ambula. Venit vero sanctus per *Doim* in regionis *Tuirtri* ad *Collunt* Patricii et baptizavit filios *Tuirtri*.

Relicta Machia venit in *Maugdorru* et ordinavit *Victoricum Machinensem* Episcopum et ecclesiam ibi magnam fundavit et perrexit ad *Loigairum* et Conallum filios *Neill*.

Finito autem circulo exiit et fecit æcclesiam *Justano* prius juxta *Bile Tortin* quæ est apud familiam *Arddbreccain* et fecit alteram *Hiltortena* orientali in qua gens *Othig Cirpani* sed libera semper.

Et perrexit ad fines *Laginensium* ad *Druimen Hurchaille* et posuit ibi domum *Martyrium* quæ sic vocatur quæ sita est super viam magnam in valle et est hic petra Patricii in via. Exiit ad campum *Lifi* et posuit ibi æcclesiam et ordinavit Auxilium puerum Patricii exorcistam et *Esernium* et *Mactadeum* in cellola *Cuilin*. Ordinavit *Fecum* album *Ileibti* et baptizabat filios *Dunlinge* et erexit se per *Belut Gabrain* et fundavit æcclesiam *Hirroigniu Martorthige* et baptizabat filios *Nioth Fruich Iternumæ* super petram *Hicoithrigi Hicaissiul*.

LIBER ARDMACHÆ—VITA S. PATRICII. XXXV

Hæ sunt tres petitiones Patricii ut nobis traditæ sunt Hibernensibus rogans ut suscipiatur unusquisque nostram poenitentiam agens licet in extremo vitæ suæ iudicii die.

Ut non claudetur in inferno hoc est prima.

Secunda ne barbares gentes dominantur nobis in semper eternum.

Tertia. Ut ne super vixerit aliquis nostrum id est Hibernensium ante septem annos ante diem iudicii quia vii annos ante iudicium debebuntur æquore hoc est tertia.

Ætas Patricii ut nobis traditum est subputatur.

vii anno baptizatus est	xxx an legit
x anno captus	xxii ann. docuit
iiii annis servivit	Ætas ejus tota cxx.

AN UT MOISES.

In iiii rebus similis fuit Moisi Patricius.

- I. Primo. Angelum de rubo audivit.
- II. xl diebus et xl noctibus jejunavit.
- III. Quia annos cxx peregit in vita presenti.
- IV. Ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit.

Duo hostes xii diebus corpore Sancti Patricii contenderunt et noctem inter se xii diebus non viderunt sed diem semper et in xii die ad prelium venerunt et corpus ingrabato ii hostes viderunt apud se et non pugnaverunt *Colambcille* spiritu sancto instigante ostendit sepulturam Patricii ubi est confirmat id est in *Sabul* Patricii id est in ecclesiam juxta mare pro undecima ubi est conductio martirum id est ostium *Columbcille*, de Britannia et conductio omnium sanctorum de Hibernia in die iudicii.

XIII. anno Theothosii Imperatoris a Celestino episcopo Papa Romæ Patricius episcopus ad doctrinam Scotorum mittitur qui Celestinus xlii episcopus a Petro apostolo in urbe Romæ.

Palladius episcopus primo mittitur qui Patricius alio nomine appellatur qui martyrium passus est apud Scotos ut tradunt sancti antiqui. Deinde Patricius secundus ab angeli dei Victor nomine et Celestino papæ mittitur cui Hibernia tota credidit qui eam pene totam baptizavit.

Patricius sanctus episcopus honorem quaterna et omnibus monasteriis et ecclesiis per totam Hiberniam debet habere id est.

- I. Solemnitate dormitationis ejus honorari in medio veris autem iii dies et iii noctes omni bono cibo præter carnem quasi Patricius vepisset in vita in hostium.
- II. Offertorium ejus proprium in eodem die immolari.
- III. Ymnum ejus per totum tempus cantare.
- IV. Canticum ejus Scotticum semper canere.

Sic omnis quatuor ista habere debet et peddi a monachis suis sibi qui æcclesiam fundavit vel monasterium et qui habet paruchiam et regiones multas quatuor predicta habere debet in honore.

Finit hoc breviarum gentis.

Nominis	documenti
genelogie	industriæ
pueritie	maledicti in peccatores
captivitatum	benedictiones in pios
virtutum	ætatis quæ omnia in
Christiane ser-	deo gesta ab antiquis
vitutis	scitissimus adunata at-
	que collecta sunt.

INCIPIUNT alia pauca serotinis temporibus inventa suisque locis narranda. Curiositate heredum diligentiaque sanctitatis quæ in honorem et laudem domini atque in amabilem Patricii memoriam usque in hodiernum diem congregantur. Quando autem Patricius cum sua sancta navigatione ad Hiberniam pervenit Sanctum *Lommanum* in hostio *Boindio* navim custodire reliquit xl diebus et xl noctibus ac deinde alium quadragesimum post oboedentiam Patricio mansit deinde secundum imperium sui magistri in sua navi contrario flumine usque ad vadum *Truim* in hostio *Arcis Fedelmedo* filii *Loigairi* domino gubernante pervenit.

LIBER ARDMACHÆ—VITA S. PATRICII. XXXVII

Mane autem facto *Foirterchn* filius *Fedelntheo* invenit evangelium recitantem et ammiratus evangelium et doctrinam ejus confestim credidit et aperto fonte in illo loco a *Lommano* in Christo baptizatus est. Et mansit cum illo donec mater ejus querere eum pervenit et lucta facta est in conspectu ejus quia *Britonissa* erat. At ille similiter credidit et iterum reversa est in domum suam et nuntiavit marito suo omnia quæ accederant illi et filio suo ac vero *Fedelmedius* luctificabitur in adventu clerici quia de Brittonibus matrem habuit unam filiam regis Brittonum *Scothnoesa* luttavit autem *Fedelmidius Lommanum* lingua Britannica interrogans eum secundum ordinem de fide et genere. Respondit ei ego sum *Lommanus* Britto Christianus alumnus Patricii episcopi qui missus est a domino baptizare populos Hibernensium et convertere ad fidem Christi qui me misit huc secundum voluntatem dei statimque credidit *Fedelmidius* cum omni familia sua et immolavit illi et Sancta Patricio regionem suam cum possessione sua et cum omnibus substantiis suis et cum omni progenie sua. Hæc omnia immolavit Patricio et *Lommano Foirterchno* filio suo usque in diem judicii.

Migravit autem *Fedlimid* trans annum *Boindeo* et mansit in *Cloin Lagen* et mansit *Lomman* cum *Foirterchno* in vado *Truimm* usque dum pervenit Patricius ad illos et edificavit æcclesiam cum illis xxii anno ante quam fundata etiam æcclesiam *Altinache*.

Progenies autem *Lommani* de Brittonibus unum filium gellit. Germana autem Patricii mater ejus germani autem *Lommani* hii sunt episcopi manis *Hiforgnidu Lacumniu*.

Broccaid in *Imbluich* equorum apud *Ciarrige Connact* *Broccanus Imbrechmig* apud nepotes *Dorthim Mugenoc* *Hicill Dumi Gluinn* in *deisciurt Breg*.

Hæc autem progenies Patricii propria est consanguinitate, et gratia fide et baptismate et doctrina et omnia quæ adapta sunt de cætera de regionibus æcclesiis et omnibus oblationibus propriis Sancto Patricio in sempiternum obtulerunt.

Post aliquantum autem tempus adpropinquante *Lommani* exitu perrexit cum alumpno suo *Foirterchno* ad fratrem suum *Broccidium* fratrum salutandum perrexerunt autem ipse et alumnus ejus *Foirterchn* Commendavitque sanctam ecclesiam suam Sancto Patricio et *Foirterchno* sed recussavit *Foirterchn* tenere hereditatem patris suæ quia obtulit deo et

Patricio nisi *Lommanus* dixit non accipies benedictionem meam nisi acciperis principatum ecclesiæ meæ tenuit autem post obitum magistri sui principatum tribus diebus usque dum pervenit ad vadum *Truimm* ac deinde statim *Cathlaido Peregrino* distribuit suam ecclesiam. Hæ sunt autem oblationes *Fedelmedo* filii *Loigairi* Sancto Patricio et *Lommano* et *Foirthern* id est vadum *Truim* in finibus *Loigairi Breg* igitur in finibus *Loigairi Medi*.

Hæc autem ecclesiastica

Progenies *Fedelmttheo*

Foirthernus

Aod magnus

Aod parvus

Conall

Baitan

Ossan

Cummene

Saran

Hii omnes episcopi fuerunt et principes venerantes Sanctum Patri-
cium et successores ejus plebilis autem progenies ejus hæc est.

Fergus filius *Fedelmttheo*

Feredach filius *Fergosso*

Cronan filius *Foredig*

Sorran filius *Cronain*

Failan filius *Sarain*

Failnad filius *Failain*

Forfailed filius *Failgnaith*

Segene filius *Forfailto*

Sochnassack filius *Segeni*.

Sanctus Patrius iens ad cælum mandavit totum fructum laboris sui tam baptismatam causarum quam elemosinarum deferendum esse apostolicæ urbi quæ Scotice nominatur *Arddmacha*. Sic reperi in bibliothecis Scotorum. Ego scripsi id est *Calvus Perennis* in conspectu *Briani* imperatoris Scotorum et quod scripsi finituit pro omnibus regibus *Mac Eriæ*.*

Colmanus episcopus ecclesiam suam id est *Cluincain* in *Achud* Patricio episcopo de votiva immolatione in sempiternum obtulit et ipse eum commendavit sanctis viris id est prespitero *Medb* et prespitero *Sadb*.

* This passage is in a more modern character than the text of the MS. The last two words I thought at first were *forma Ceriæ*; but, by means of a magnifying glass, I now have no doubt but that the above is correct.

LIBER ARDMACHÆ—VITA S. PATRICII. XXXIX

Item campum aquilonis inter *Gleoir* et *Ferni* cum servis in eo sibi famulantibus filii *Fiechrack* Patricio in sempiternum ymmolaverunt.

Item vii filii *Doath Cluain Findglais* et *Imsruth Cul Cais* et *Deruth Mar Culecais* et *Cenn locho* deo et Sancto Patricio fideliter obtulerunt.

Filii item *Conlaid* viii campi pondera id est vaccas campi viii in hereditate sua id est *Cachindlea Odibcarnib* usque ad montem *Cairnn* deo et Patricio in sempiterna sæcula obtulerunt.

Has omnes oblationes *Ciarrichi* super in eorum reges Patricio per æterna sæcula obtulerunt.

Sanctus Patricius familiam suam in regione *Ciarrichi* per spiritum sanctum previdens eum esse undique *Cassatam* id est episcopum *Sachellum* et *Brocidium* et *Loarnum* et prespiterum *Medb* et *Ernas* cum in unitatem pacis æternæ cum uno fidei ritu sub potestate unius hæredis suæ apostolicæ cathedræ *Altimachæ* sub benedictione sua unanimiter conjunxit.

Binean filius *Lugni* scribe atque sacerdos necnon anchorita filius filiarum *Lugaith* in *netach* fuit qui dedit deus progenies matris suæ hereditatem in qua fundavit æcclesiam deo consecratam Patricioque immolatam et Sanctus Patricius signavit locum sibi suo baculo et ipse primus corpus et sanguinem Christi obtulit post quod gradum accessit *Bineanus* ab eo et benedixit illum et reliquit post se in suo loco.

Veniens Patricius in finem *Calrigi* baptizavit filium *Cairthin* et *Caichanum* et postquam baptizavit obtulerunt filius *Cairthir* et *Caichan* quintam partem *Caichain* deo et Patricio et liberavit rex deo et Patricio. Hæ sunt fines quintæ partes i. e. *Coicid Caichain Otha glais Telchæ Berich Abraidne Conrici Forcuisin Tuelgos Disleb Otha glais Conacollo Curreirui et Otha Criche Drommonit Cuglais Tamlachtæ Dublocho Lagglaish Cugrenlaich Fotelareut Timmhell Nasanto Cosescen Indacor Asescum dacor Ladescert Lenilafer Conricinucht Nomomne Condairiumor Condairiu Medoin Condairiu fidas Condairiu Mail Condruim Toidached Laglaish Conrici Conaclid Atropert Flaith et Aithech inso huile Hosuch Lartabuirt Baithis Duarb.*

Եղիշահ Բաբայ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ
. յ. Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ
. յ. Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ
. յ. Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ

Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ
. յ. Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ
. յ. Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ
. յ. Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ

*Nao et Nat filii fratris Patricii et Daall filius Hencair quos reliquit ibi
Patricius Adopart Teoraleth Indli Treathir Patricio in sempiternum et
obtulit Patricio filium suum Conderc filius Daal.*

*Maru obtulit Teoralethindli Triathir et obtulit Patricio filium Mac
Rima et baptizavit eos Patricius et edificavit æcclesiam in hereditate
eorum et regnum offerebat cum eis Coirpri Patricio.*

Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ
. յ. Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ
. յ. Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ
. յ. Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ

Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ
. յ. Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ
. յ. Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ
. յ. Եղիշահ խառնալ ինքն ինքնին ծառ

*Patricius et Iserninus cum Germano fuerunt in Olsiodra civitate. Ger-
manus vero Isernino dixit ut prædicare in Hiberniam veniret atque prump-
tus fuit obædire etiam in quamcumque partem mittetur nisi in Hiberniam
Germanus dixit Patricio et tu an oboediens eris.*

Patricius dixit fiat sicut vis Germanus dixit hoc inter nos erit et non potuerit *Iserinus* in Hibernia nec transire.

Patricius venit in Hiberniam *Iserini* vero missus est in aliam regionem sed ventus contrarius detulit eum in dextram partem Hibernie.

Գտէ՛ք յարրի յաճե՛ղ ԿՅԵ՛ ԵԿԵ՛ becc յԵԼԻ՛ ԸՕԵ՛
նշԵ՛ ԶԱՆՆՄԻ՛ ԳըԼԻ՛ ԵՐԴՅ՛ ԸՈՆԸՈՆՅԱԲ ԵՈՅԿԻԼԵ՛
ԲԱԿԱԲ ղՅԵ՛ ԵՂԱ ՄԻԿԵՄԻ ԵՂՈ ԼԱՅՈ ԵՐԴԴՅ՛ ԸՈՆԸՈՆ-
ՅԱԲ ՔԱՅԵ՛ ԲՕԱԼԱՐԿԵ՛ ԲԱԿԵ՛ ղՅԵ՛ . ղ. ԿՅԵ յԴԴՅ՛ ԳըԼԻ՛
ԵՐԴՅ՛ ԵՄ ԼԱՐԱԸ ԵԶԱՐԿՈ ԴՅԵ՛ ՄԱՅՅԵ՛.

ԳըԼՈՒԵՐ ԸԱՅԻ ԵՐԴՅ՛ ԲԵՇՄԱՅԸ ԿԱԵԲՈ՛ ԲՐԻՈ-
ՅԻՐ ԵՂԱՅ 7 crediderunt et baptizalesant 7 ԼԻ՛ ԼԵՕ
ԲԱԵՐ ԵՂԱՄՄԵՂԻՒ ԲԱՐՈԿԱՒ ԵՂԵԶ ԸԵՂԵՂԱԸ ԲԱԵՂԵ՛
ԸՐԵՂԵՂԵ ղԱԿԱԸ ԼԻ՛ ԵՐԿՈՐ ԲԻ՛ ԼԵՕ ԲՈՐԼՈՆՅԻՐ ԸԱԸ
ԱԼԵ՛ ՕՅԻ ԲԱՅԵ ՔԱՐԱԸ ԵՐԴԴՅ՛ ԵՒ credederunt
sibi ա՛ ղ իլի. ԳըՆԼԻՅԵ ԼԻ՛ ԵՐԴԴՅ՛ ԸԱ ԸՐԻՄԵԱՄ
ՁԵ ղԵՂՈ ԸԵՂԵԼԵ՛ 7 ipse credidit. ԱԸԸԱՅԵ՛ ԲԻԼԵ՛
ԱՅԻՂՅ ղԱՐԱԸ ԵՂԱՐԱԵՂԵԸ ԵՂԱՅԼԸԸ ղԱԸԱ
ԿԱԵԲՈ՛ ԵՒ Iseririshnum, ԼԵՕ 7 ԿՈՒԵԸԵ ԴՅԵ՛.

ԳըԼՈՒԵՐ ՄԱՅԸ ԿԱԵԲՈ՛ ԵՂԱՄՄԵՂ ղԱՒ ԵՐԴԻ՛
ԻՐԵ ԱՒԿԱ ԲԵՂԱԲՈՐԻ՛ ԸՈՆՏԱԼԵԱՐ ԵՕՒՄ ՔԱ-
ՐԱԸ ԵՒ ԸՐԵՄԵՂ ղԵՂՈ ԱՐԿԻ ՔԱՐԱԸ,

Ad opum Crimthana ղԵ ԵՂՈՅՈ՛ ղԵ ԵՒ ԲԻՅՐԵՂ
ԲՈՒԿԱ ՕՅԱԲԻՐ ԼԻԼԱՐ ԸՈՆԱԸԱՐ ԲԻ՛ ԼԱՅԵՂ ԲԵՇԵՂՈ
ԻՐԵՐԱՅԱՐ ԵՒ ՔԱՐԱԸ ԲՈՂԱՄԱՂԵ՛ 7 ԶԱՂԵՕՅԵ՛ 7
ԵՒԲԵՂԻ ՔԱՐԱԸ ԵՒԵՐԿՈՐ ԲԻ՛ ԵՒ ԵԶԵՐԲԻ՛ ԵՒՄ-
ԱԸԱՅ ԿԱԵԲԱ՛ 7 ԸՈՆՅԱՅ ԼԵԱԻՒ ԱԲԻ՛ԵՕ.

ԳըԼԻ՛ ՔԱՐԱԸ ՕԵՄԻՐ ԴԵՐԱԸ ԼԱՅԵՂ ԸՈՂԱՂ-
ԿԱՐ 7 ԵՒԵԱԸ ղԱԸԱԼԱՅԻ ԱԸԵՕՄղԱԸ ղԱՐ ԸՐԱ-
ԱԵՐ ԼԱ ԵՂՂ ԸԵՂԵԼԵ՛ Ա ԼԻՐ ՔԱՐԱԸ ԵՒԵԱԸ
ԴՅԵԱՂԵ . ղ. ԵՐԿԻՐ ԵՂԱ ԵՐԿԻՐԼԵ ԵՂԱՅՂԵ՛ ԵՕՂ
ԲԵՐ ԲՕԵՐ ԲՕԵՂԻ ԸԵՂՈ ԸԵՂԱՂՂ ղԱԵՐԱՒԱ ԲԵԸ
ԴԱԵՐՈՄԱՐ ԵԶԱՐՈՄԵԱ.

ԵՐԿԻՂՂ ԲԵՐ ԵՂԲԵՇԸ ԵՂԱՐԱԸԱԸ ԱԸԵՂ-
ԵՂԵՐ ԲԱՐՅԱՐԵՒԵԱԸ ղԵ ԲԵՕՐԻՐ ԵՂՄԻԿԵՂԻ
ԱԸ ԲԱԸ ԲԻ՛ ԵՂԱՅՂԵ՛ ԵՕՕՕՈ ԴԱՂԱՐԵ ԴԵՂԵ
ԸՈՂԱԸ ԱՂ ԼԻՂՂՈՐԱՅԵ ԸՈՂԱԿԱՐ ԲԱԸ ԲԻ՛
ԸԱԸԱ ԱՐԵՐԵ ԵՒԵԱԸ ԲԱՐԱԸ ԵՂԱ ԵՒԲԵՐ
ԲԱՐԱ ԱՐ ԲԱՐԵՐ ԴԵՐ ԵՂՂՂ ԵՂՈԱԸ ԵՒ-
ԲԵՂԱԸ ԵՂԱՐԱԸ ԵՂԱՐԱՐ ԶՅՈՂԵ ԵՂՅՂՂՂ
ԲԱՐԱՅԵ ԲԱԸ ԲԻ՛ ԵՒԵԱԸ 7 ԲԵՐԱՐ ՔԱՐԱԸ 7

Scripsi hunc ut potui librum pulsare conetur
 Omnis quicumque legerit ut evadere poena
 Ad cœlum valeam et ad summi præmia regni
 Patricio dominum pulsante habitare per ævum.

ANNOTATIONES AIDI.

QUAM quidem mi domine *Aido* multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem utique istam secundum quod patres eorum et qui ministri ab initio fuerunt sermones tradiderunt illis sed propter difficillimum narrationis opus diversasque opiniones et plurimorum plurimas suspiciones numquam ad unum certumque historiæ tramitem pervenerunt ideo ni faller juxta hoc nostrorum proverbium ut deducuntur pueri in ambiteathrum in hoc periculosum et profundum narrationis Sanctæ Pylagus turgentibus proterve gurgitum aggeribus inter acutissimos *Carubdes* per ignota æquora in sitos a nullis ad huc lintribus excepto tantum uno patris mei cognito si expectum atque occupatum ingeni olim ei puerilem remi cymbam deduxi sed ne magnum de parvo videar fingere pauca hæc de multis Sancti Patricii gestis parva peritita incertis auctoribus memoria labili attrito sensii vili sermone sed affectu pissimo caritatis etiam sanctitatis tuæ et auctoritatis imperio oboedens carptim gravatimque explicare aggrediar.

De ortu Patricii et ejus prima captivitate.

De navigio ejus cum gentibus et vexatione deserti cibo sibi gentilibus divinitus de lato.

De secunda captura quam senis decies diebus ab inimicis pretulerat.

De susceptione sua a parentibus ubi agnoverunt eum.

De etate ejus quando iens videre sedem apostolicam voluit discere sapientiam.

De inventione sancti generis in Galliis et ideo non exivit ultra.

De etate ejus quando visitavit eum anguelus ut veniret adhuc.

De reversione ejus de Gallis et ordinatione Palladii et mox morte ejus.

De ordinatione ejus ab *Amatho* rege episcopo defuncto *Palladio*.

De rege gentili habito in *Temoeria* quando venerat Sanctus Patricius baptisum portans.

De primo ejus itinere in hac insola ut seipsum redemeret *O Miliucc* priusquam alios a demonio traheret.

De morte *Milcon* et verbo Patricii de semine ejus.

De consilio Sancti Patricii ubi *Hessitum* est.

De celebratione primæ Pascæ.

De oblatione prima *Pasca* in hac insola facta.

De festivitate gentili in *Temoria* eadem nocte qua Sanctus Patricius *Pasca* adoravit.

De gressu regis *Loigarii* de *Temoria* ac Patricium in nocte *Pascae*.

De vocatione Patricii ad regem et fide *Eirc* filii *Dego* morte magi in illa nocte.

De ira regis et suorum ad Patricium et plaga dei super eos et transfuione Patricii coram gentilibus.

De adventu Patricii in die *Pascae* ad *Temoriam* et fide *Dubthach Moccu-lugir*.

De conflictu Patricii adversus magum in illa et mirabilibus virtutibus.

De conversatione *Loigari* regis et conversio et de verbo Patricii de regno ejus post se.

De doctrina et baptismo signisque sancti Patricii secundum exemplum Christi.

De *Macc Cuill* et conversione ejus ad verbum Patricii.

De morte *Moneisen*.

De fabula *Dairi* et equo et oblatione *Ardmache* ad Patricium.

De gentibus laborantibus die dominica trans preceptum Patricii.

De fructifera terra in salsuginem versa ad verbum Patricii.

De morte *Moneisen Saxonisse*.

De eo quod Sanctus Patricius vidit cœlum apertum et filium dei et angelos ejus.

De conflictu Sancti Patricii adversum *Coirthech* regem *Aloo*.

Hæc pauca Sancti Patricii peritia et virtutibus *Mulrchu Maccumachtheni* dictante *Aiduo Sleptiensis* civitatis Episcopo conscripsit.

PATRICIO Sancto episcopo summus domini sacerdos angelus debitam reverentiam cathedræ suæ apostolicæ honoremque propriam sue heredis ab omnibus *Scotis* traditam sapienter a deo sibi dictavit.

LIBER ANGUELI INCIPIT.

QUODAM itaque Sanctus Patricius de *Allimache* urbe ad multitudines utriusque sexus humani generis baptizandas docendas atque sanandas juxta fontem in orientali predictæ urbis parte prope *Hereutem* pie perrexit.

Et ibi ante lucem multas undique ad noticiam fidei confluentes expectavit subito ergo eum sopor prostravit eo quod prius pro *Christo* vigiliis nocturni sessus fuisset.

Et ecce tam cito venit angelus ad eum de caelo et excitavit eum leviter de sompno et dixit Sanctus Patricius ego adsum numquid inique gessi nuper in conspectu altissimi si accidit veniam peto a deo.

Respondit angelus non sed missit me summus omnipotens ad te primus ad animi tui conservationem post conversionem Hibernensium per te ad se in fidem quos ei adquesaisti per durissimum laborem et per tuam valde predictionem gratia spiritu sancti lucidissimam universis gentibus fructuosam cum esses semper laboriosus multis temporibus in multis periculis a gentilibus per frigus et æstatem essuriens et sitiens de ambulans impiger quotidie de gente in gentem ad utilitatem multarum gentium scit ergo Dominus deus tuum presentem locum quem presto videmus in alto positum cum parva cellula angustum ab aliquibus quoque regiones habitatoribus coartatum et suburbana ejus non sufficient cunctis ad refugium idcirco constituitur terminus a domino vastissimus urbi *Altinachæ* quam dilexisti præ omnibus Hibernensium telluribus id est a pinna montis *Berbicis* usque ad montem *Miss* a monte *Miss* usque ad *Brierigi* a *Brierigi* usque ad dorsos *Breg* certe si volueris erit hujus magnitudinis Ac deinde donavit tibi dominus deus universas Scotorum gentis in modum paruchis et huic urbi tuæ quæ cognominatur Scotorum lingua *Arddmachæ*.

Dixit Sanctus Patricius prostrata facie deorsum in conspectu angeli. Gratias ago deo meo domino sempiterno qui dignatus est tantam gloriam donare clementia famulo suo.

Item sanctus dixit quosdam tamen electos sancte domine mi per spiritum sanctum provideo in hac insola per ineffabilem tuæ clementiæ pietatem et per predicationis tuæ laborem *orateros* mihi caros quasi proprios corporis mei editos tibi quoque amicos devote servitores qui autem videntur indigere aliquid sibi proprie diocessis ad utilitatem necessariæ famulationis ecclesiis seu monasteriis suis post me idcirco perfecte et juste debeo adeo habundantiæ donationem mihi certe deditam dimittere commoniter perfectis Hiberniæ religiosis ut et ego et ipsi divitiis bonitatis dei pacifice perfruemur hoc universa a mihi concessa causa divini caritatis.

Item ait nonne ergo mihi sufficit quicquid devote noverunt ac volue-

runt Christiani homines offerre de regionibus atque oblationibus suis per arbitrium suæ libertatis.

Item nonne utique contentus sum esse apostolicus doctor et dux principalis omnibus Hiberionacum gentibus presertim cum peculiare censum retineo recte reddendum et a summo mihi etiam illud est donatum vere decenter debitum super liberas provinciarum hujus insolæ *provincias* et universis cynubitanum similiter monasteriis sine ulla dubitatione jus decretum erit rectori *Arddmachæ* inperpetuum.

Receptio archiepiscopi hæredis cathedræ ~~meæ~~ urbis cum comitibus suis numero 50 exceptis peregrinis et infirmis ~~doctoribus~~ variis atque in probis et ceteris sit digna refectio aptaque unicuique eodem numero tam digne in die quam certe similiter in nocte.

In ista vero urbe *Altimachæ* homines Christiani utriusque sexus religiosi ab initio fidei hucusque penem seperabiliter commorari videntur cui vero predictæ tres ordines adherent virgines et pœnitentes in matrimonio legitimo ecclesiæ servientes.

Et his tribus ordinibus audire verbum predictionis in æcclesia aquilonalis plagæ conceditur semper diebus dominicis.

In australi vero basilica episcopi et presbiteri et anchoritæ æcclesiæ et cæteri religiosi laudes sapidas offerunt.

De speciali reverentia *Arddmachæ* et honore præsulis ejusdem urbis dicamus.

Ista quippe civitas summa et libera a deo est constituta et ab angulo dei et ab apostolico viro Sancto Patricio episcopo specialiter dedicata.

Præest ergo quodam privilegio omnibus ecclesiis ac monasteriis cunctorum Hibernensium vel supera auctoritate summi pontificis illius fundatoris.

Nihilhominus venerari debet honore summorum martyrium Petri et Pauli Stefani Lawrendi et cæterorum.

Quanto magis quoque valde veneranda atque diligenter ab omnibus veneranda honoranda.

Pro sancta ammiratione nobis beneficii per omnibus inerrabilis quod in ea secretia constitutione exstat sacratissimus sanguis Jesu Christi redemptoris humani generis in sacro lintamine simul cum sanctorum reliquiis in æcclesia australi ubi requiescunt corpora sanctorum peregrinorum de longue cum Patricio transmarinorum cæterorumque justorum.

Idcirco non licet causa predictæ auctoritatis ejus illam mittere consortem ab ulla æcclesia Scotorum neque ab ullo præsule vel abbate contra hæredem illius sed a se recte supra juratur supra omnes ecclesias et illarum antistites si vera necessitas poposcerit.

Item omnis æcclesiæ libera et civitas ab episcopali gradu videtur esse fundata in tota Scotorum insola et omnis ubique locus qui dominicus appellatur juxta clementiam almipotentis domini sancti doctoris et juxta verbum angueli in speciali societate Patricii pontificis atque hæredis cathedræ ejus *Aird Machæ* esse debuerat quia donavit illi deus totam insolam ut supradiximus.

Item scire debemus omnis monachus uniuscujusque æcclesiæ si ad Patricium reverterit non denegat proprium monachi votum maxime si ex consensu abbatis sui prioris devoverit.

Itaque non vituperandus neque excommunicandus quicumque ad æcclesiam ejus perrexerit causa amoris illius quia ipse judicabit omnes Hibernenses in die magno terribilis judicii in presentia Christi.

ITEM de honore præsulis *Airddmachæ* episcopi presidentes cathedram pastoris prefecti.

Si ipse predictus pontifex ad vesperum pervenerit loco quo receptus fuerit prebeatur ei unali vice refectionis dignæ consulatione predictorum hospitum numero c. cum pabulis suis illorum jumentis præter hospites et infirmos et eos qui jectant infantes super æcclesiam et cæteros seu reprobos et alios.

Item qui non receperit predictum præsulem in hospitium eundem et recluserit suam habitationem contra illum vii ancillas suas vii annos penitentiae similiter reddere cogatur.

Item quicumque contempserit aut molaverit insignia consecrata ejusdem agii id est Patricii duplicia solvet.

Si vero de contemptu aliorum insignium reddita fuerit duas ancillas de consecratis summi predicti doctoris Patricii redditur.

Item quicumque similiter per industriam atque injuriam vel nequitiam malum quod quæ opus contra familiam seu paruchiam ejus perfecerit aut predicta ejus insignia dispexerit ad libertatem examinis ejusdem *Airdmacha* præsulis recte judicantis perveniet causa totius negotiationis cæteris aliorum judicibus prætermisiss.

Item quæcumque causa valde difficilis exorta fuerit atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium judicibus ad cathedram archiepiscopi Hibernensium id est Patricii atque hujus antistitis examinationem recte referenda.

Si vero in illa cum suis sapientibus facile sanari non poterit trlis causa prædicta negotiationis ad sedem apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam id est ad Petri apostoli cathedram auctoritatem Romæ urbis finem.

Hii sunt qui de hoc decreverunt id est *Aurilius Patricius Secundinus Benignus* post vero exitum Patricii Sancti alumpni sui valde ejusdem libros conscripserunt.

Fundamentum orationis in unaquaque die dominica in *Altomachæ* ad sargifagum martyrum ad eundem ab eoque revertendum id est *Domine clamavi ad te usque finem*.

Ut quid deus repulisti in finem et beati immaculati usque in finem benedictionis et xii Psalmi graduum. Finit.

Inter Sanctum Patricium Hibernensium Brigitamque Columpnas amicitia caritatis merat tanta ut unum cor consiliumque haberent unum Christus per illum illamque virtutis multis peregit.

Vir ergo Sanctus Christianæ Virgini ait.

O mea *Brigita* paruchia tua in provincia tua apud reputabitur monarchiam tuam in parte autem orientali et occidentali dominatu in mea erit.

SANCTI PATRICII CONFESSIO,

SIVE

EPISTOLA AD HIBERNOS.

INCIPIUNT LIBRI SANCTI PATRICII EPISCOPI.

Ego Patricius peccator rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium et contemptibilis sum apud plurimos patrem habui Calpornium Diaconum, filium quondam Potiti Presbyteri filii Odissi qui fuit in Vico Bannavenn Tabernæ. Villulam enim prope habuit ubi ego capturam dedi. Annorum eram tunc fere xvi. Deum verum ignorabam, et Hiberione in Captivitate adductus sum, cum tot millia hominum secundum merita nostra quia a Deo recessimus et præcepta ejus non custodivimus, et sacerdotibus nostris non obediens fuimus, qui nostram salutem admonebant et Dominus induxit super nos iram animationis suæ et dispersit nos in gentibus multis etiam usque ad ultimum terræ ubi nunc parvitas mea esse videtur inter alienigenas. Et ibi Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meæ ut sero rememorarem delicta mea ut confirmarem toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum qui respexit humilitatem meam et misertus est adolescentiæ et ignorantiae meæ et custodivit me antequam scirem eum et antequam saperem vel distinguerem vel bonum et malum et munivit me et consolatus est mei ut pater filium.

Unde autem tacere non possum neque expedit quidem tanta beneficia et tantam gratiam quam mihi dignatus in terra captivitatis meæ quia hæc est retributio mea nostra ut post correptionem vel agnitionem Dei exaltare et confiteri mirabilia ejus coram omni natione quæ est sub omni cælo quia non est alius Deus nec unquam fuit nec ante nec erit post hunc præter Deum Patrem ingenitum sine principio a quo est omne principium omnia tenentem (ut diximus) et ejus filium Jesum Christum qui cum Patre scilicet semper fuisse testamur ante originem seculi spiritualiter apud Patrem inarrabiliter genitum ante omne principium et per ipsum

facta sunt visibilia hominem factum morte devicta in cœlis. Et dedit illi omnem potestatem *super omne nomen, cœlestium et terrestrium et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur ei, quia Dominus et Deus est Jesus Christus quem credimus et expectamus adventum mox futurum* Judex vivorum atque mortuorum qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua et effudit in nobis abunde Spiritum Sanctum donum et pignus immortalitatis qui facit credentes et obedientes ut sint filii Dei et cohæredes Christi quem confitemur et adoramus unum Deum in Trinitate sacri nominis. Ipse enim dixit per Prophetam—*Invoca me in die tribulationis tuæ, et liberabo te, et magnificabis me.* Et iterum inquit, *Opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est.* Tamenetsi in multis imperfectus sum, opto fratribus et cognatis meis scire qualitatem meam, ut possint perficere votum animæ meæ. Non ignoro testimonium Domini mei qui in Psalmo testatur *Perdes eos qui loquuntur mendacium* et iterum inquit *Os quod mentitur occidit animam.* Et idem Dominus *Verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines reddent rationem de eo in die judicii.* Unde autem vehementer cum timore et tremore metuere hanc sententiam in die illa ubi nemo se poterit subtrahere vel abscondere sed omnes omnino reddituri sumus rationem etiam peccatorum minimorum ante tribunal Christi Domini.

Quapropter olim cogitavi scribere sed et usque nunc hæsitavi. Timui enim ne inciderem in linguam hominum. Quia non dedici sicut et cæteri qui optime itaque jure et sacras literas utroque pari modo combiberunt * et sermones illorum ex infantia nunquam motarunt sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt. Nam sermo et loquela nostra translata est in linguam alienam, sicut facile potest probari ex saliva† Scripturæ meæ, qualiter sum ego in Sermonibus instructus atque eruditus quia inquit Sapiens *per linguam dinoscitur et sensus et scientia et doctrina veritatis.* Sed quid prodest excusatio juxta veritatem præsertim cum præsumptione? quatinus modo ipse adpeto in senectute mea, quod in juventute non comparavi quod obstiterunt ut confirmarem quod ante perlegeram. Sed si quis me credidit? Et si dixero (quod ante præfatus sum) adolescens immo pene puer imberbis capturam dedi antequam scirem quid peterem vel quid adpeterem vel quid vitare debueram. Unde ergo hodie erubesco et vehementer protimeo denudare imperitiam meam quia non possum de decritis brevitate sermone explicare nequeo. Sicut enim Spiritus gestit et animus et sensus monstrat affectus. Sed si itaque datum mihi fuisset sicut et cæteris veruntamen non silerem propter retributionem. Etsi forte videtur apud

* Incertus liber hic.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

aliquantos me in hoc proponere cum mea inscientia et tardiori lingua. Sed scriptum est *Linguae balbutientes velociter discent loqui pacem*: quanto magis nos adpetere debemus qui sumus nos *Epistola Christi* in salutem usque ad ultimum terræ: etsi non diserta sed ratum et fortissimum scriptum in cordibus vestris *non atramento sed Spiritu Dei vivi*. Et iterum testatur *Et rusticationem ab Altissimo creata est*.

Unde ego primus rusticus perfuga indoctus scilicet qui nescio in posterum providere: sed illud prescio certissime quia utique priusquam humiliarer ego eram velut lapis qui jacet in luto profundo et veniens qui potens est et in sua misericordia sustulit me et quidem scilicet sursum adlevavit et collocavit me in sua parte et inde fortiter debueram exclamare ad retribuendum quoque aliquid Domino pro tantis beneficiis ejus hic et in æternum quæ mens hominum æstimare non potest. Unde autem admiramini magni et pusilli et vos dominicati qui timetis Deum Rhetorici auditi et scrutamini quis me stultum excitavit de medio eorum qui videntur esse sapientes et leges periti et potentes in sermone et in omni re et me quidem detestabiles hujus mundi de cæteris inspiravit si talis essem. Dummodo autem ut cum metu et reverentia et sine querela fideliter genti ad quam charitas Christi transtulit et donavit me in vita mea si vivus fuero denique ut cum humilitate et veraciter deservirem illis.

In mensura itaque fidei Trinitatis oportet distinguere sine reprehensione perculi notum facere donum Dei et consolationem æternam sine timore fidutialiter Dei nomen ubique expandere ut etiam post obitum meum* ex a Gallias relinquere fratribus et filiis meis quos in Domino ego baptizavi tot milia hominum. Et non eram dignus neque talis ut hoc Dominus servulo suo concederet post ærumnas et tantas moles post captivitatem post annos multos in gentem illam tantam gratiam mihi donaret quod ego aliquando in juventute mea nunquam speravi neque cogitavi.

Sed postquam *Hiberione* deveneram quotidie itaque pecora pascebam et frequens in die orabam magis ac magis accedebat amor Dei et timor ipsius et fides augebatur et spiritus augebatur ut in die una usque ad centum orationes et in nocte prope similiter ut etiam in silvis et monte manebam ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per nivem per gelu per pluviam et nihil mali sentiebam neque ulla pigritia erat in me sicut modo video quia tunc in Spiritus me fervebat.

* Incertus liber.

Et ibi scilicet quadam nocte in somno audivi vocem dicentem sibi mihi Bene jejunas cito jejunans iturus ad patriam tuam. Et iterum post paululum tempus audivi responsum dicentem mihi ecce navis tua parata est et non erat prope sed forte habebat ducenta milia passus et ibi nunquam fueram nec ibi notum quenquam de hominibus habebam. Et deinde postmodum conversus sum in fugam et intermissi hominem cum fueram sex annis. Et veni in virtute Domini qui viam meam ad bonum dirigebat et nihil metuebam donec perveni ad navem illam. Et illa die qua perveni profecta est navis de loco suo et locutus sum ut abirem unde navigarem cum illis. Et gubernatori displicuit illi et acriter cum interrogatione respondit—Nequaquam tu nobiscum adpetes ire.—Et cum hæc audissem separavi me ab illis ut venirem ad tegoriorum ubi hospitabam et in itinere cœpi orare et antequam orationem consummarem audivi unum ex illis et fortiter exclamabat post me Veni cito quia vocant te homines isti et statim ad illos reversus sum et cœperunt mihi dicere veni quia ex fide recipimus te fac nobiscum amicitiam quomodo volueris. Et in illa die itaque repuli fugere mammellas eorum propter timorem Dei. Sed veruntamen ab illis speravi Venire in fidem Jesu Christi, quia Gentes erant.

Et ob hoc obtinui cum illis et post triduum terram cepimus et viginti octo dies per desertum iter fecimus et cibus defuit illis et fames invaluit super eos. Et alio die cœpit gubernator mihi dicere Quid Christiane tu dicis? Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est Quare ergo pro nobis orare non potes quia nosci fame periclitamur? difficile enim unquam ut aliquem hominem videamus. Ego enim evidenter dixi illis convertimini ex fide ad Dominum Deum meum cui nihil est impossibile ut cibum mittat vobis in viam vestram usque dum satiamini quia ubique habundat illi. Et adjuvante Deo, ita factum est ecce grex porcorum in via ante oculos nostros apparuit et multos ex illis interfecerunt et ibi duas noctes manserunt et bene refecti et canes eorum repleti sunt quia multi ex illis secus viam semivivi relictis sunt. Et post hæc summas gratias egerunt Deo et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum. Etiam mel silvestre invenerunt et mihi partem obtulerunt. Et unus ex illis dixit immolativum est Deo gratias. Exinde nihil gustavi. Eadem vero eram dormiens et fortiter temptavit me Satanas quod memor ero quamdiu fuero in hoc corpore. Et cecidit super me veluti saxum ingens et nihil membrorum prævalens. Sed unde mihi venit in spiritum ut *Heliam* vocarem et inter hoc vidi in cælum Solem oriri et dum clamarem *Heliam* viribus meis ecce splendor Solis illius decidit super me et statim discussit a me gravitudinem. Et credo quod a Christo Domino meo clamabat pro me et spero quod

sic erit in die pressuræ meæ sicut in Evangelio inquit Dominus *Nō vōs estis.**

Multos adhuc capturam dedi ea nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis responsum autem divinum audiui duobus autem mensibus eris cum illis quod ita factum est. Nocte illa sexagensima liberavit me Dominus de manibus eorum. Etiam in itinere prævidit nobis cibum et ignem et siccitatem quotidie donec decimo die pervenimus omnis sicut superius insinuavi viginti et octo desertum iter facimus et ea nocte qua pervenimus omnis de cibo vero nihil habuimus.

Et iterum post paucos annos in Britannis eram cum parentibus meis qui me ut filium susceperunt et ex fide rogaverunt me ut vel modo ego (post tantas tribulationes quas ego pertuli) nusquam ab illis discederem. Et ibi scilicet in sinu noctis virum venientem quasi de *Hiberione* cui nomen *Victoricus* cum epistolis innumerabilibus vidi et dedit mihi unam ex his et legi principium epistolæ continentem *Vox Hiberionacum*. Et dum recitabam principium epistolæ putabam enim ipse inimente audire vocem ipsorum qui erant juxta sylvam *Focluti* quæ est prope mare occidentale. Et sic exclamaverunt Rogamus te sancte puer ut venias et adhuc ambulas inter nos. Et valde compunctus sum corde et valde amplius non potui legere et sic expertus sum. Deo gratias quia post annos plurimos annos præstitit illis Dominus secundem clamorem illorum. Et alia nocte nescio Deus scit utrum in me an juxta me verbis peritissime quos ego audiui et non potui intelligere nisi ad postremum orationis sic efficiatus est *qui dedit animam suam pro te ipse est qui loquitur in te*. Et sic expectus sum gaudibundus. Et iterum vidi in me ipsum orantem et erat quasi intra corpus meum et audiui hoc est super interiorem hominem et ibi fortiter orabat gemitibus. Et inter hæc stupebam et admirabam et cogitabam quis esset qui in me orabat. Sed ad postremum orationis, sic efficiatus est ut sit episcopus. Et sic expertus sum et recordatus sum Apostolo dicente *Spiritus adjuvat infirmitates orationis nostræ. Nam quod oremus sicut oportet nescimus, sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus*, quæ verbis exprimi non possunt. Et iterum Dominus advocatus noster postulat pro nobis.

Vidi in visu noctis scriptum erat contra faciem meam sine honore. Et inter hæc audiui responsum dicentem mihi male audivimus faciem de

* Incertus liber.

signati nudato nomine nec sic prædixit male vidisti sed male vidimus quasi sibi se junxisset sicut dixit *Qui vos tangit quasi qui tangit pupillam oculi mei*. Idcirco gratias ago ei qui me in omnibus confortavit ut non me impediret a protectione qua statueram et de mea quoque opera quod a Christo domino meo dedideram. Sed magis ex eo sensi virtutem non parvam et fides mea probata est coram Deo et hominibus. Unde autem audenter dico non me reprehendit conscientia mea hic et in futurum.

Longum est autem totum per singula enarrare laborem meam vel per partes. Breviter dicam qualiter pissimus Deus de servitute sæpe liberavit et de periculis duodecim qua periclitata est anima mea præter insidias multas et quæ verbis exprimere non valeo nec injuriam legentibus faciam. Sed dum auctorem qui novit omnia etiam antequam fiant. Quia valde debitor sum Deo qui mihi tantam gratiam donavit ut populi multi per me in Deum renascerentur. Et ut clerici ubique illis ordinarentur ad plebem nuper venientem ad credulitatem quia sumpsit Dominus ab Extremis Terræ, sicut olim promiserat per Prophetas suos. *Sicut falso comparaverunt patres nostri idola et non est utilitas gentes veniunt ad te*. Et iterum *Possui te lumen in Gentibus ut sis in salutem usque ad extremum terræ*. Et ibi volo expectare promissum ipsius qui utique nunquam fallit sicut in Evangelio pollicetur. *Venient ab oriente et occidente ab austro et ab aquilone et recumbent cum Abraham et Isaac et Jacob sicut credimus ab omni mundo venturi sunt credentes*.

Idcirco itaque oportet bene et diligenter piscare sicut Dominus præmonet et docet dicens *Venite post me et faciam vos fieri pisces hominum*. Et iterum *mitto pisces et venatores multos dicit Dominus*, &c. Unde autem valde oportebat retia nostra tendere ita ut multitudo copiosa et turba Deo caperetur ut ubique essent Clerici qui baptizarent et exhortarent populum indigentem et desiderantem sicut Dominus in Evangelio ammonet et docet dicens *Euntes ergo nunc docete omnes gentes baptizantes eas in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti usque ad terminum seculi*. Et iterum *Euntes ergo in mundum universum prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ*. *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit. Qui vero non crediderit condemnabitur*.

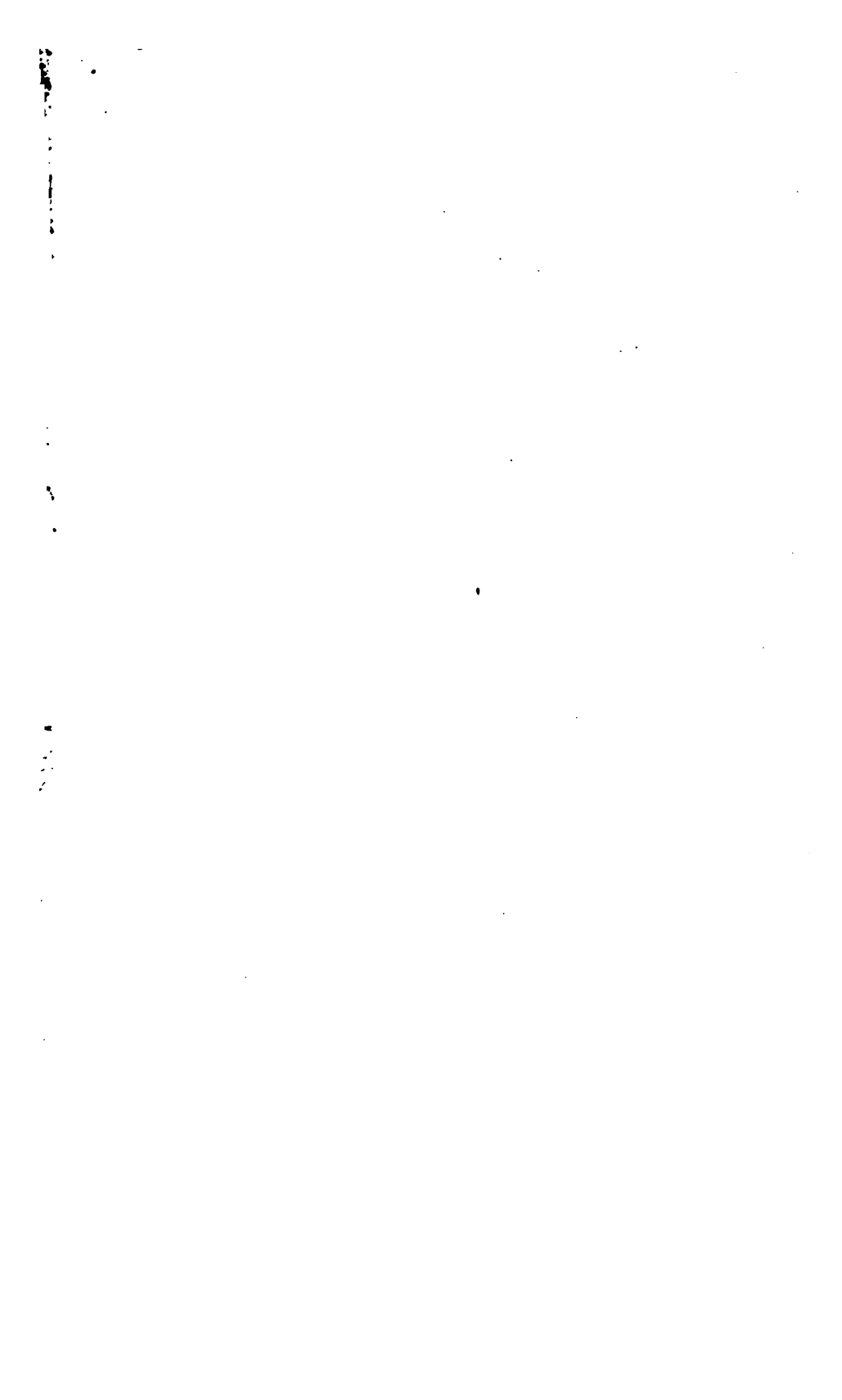
Unde autem *Hiberione* qui nunquam notitiam habuerunt nisi idula et immunda usque semper coluerunt quomodo nuper facta est plebs Domini et filii Dei nuncupantur? Filii *Scottorum* et filie *Regulorum* Monachi et virgines Christi esse videntur.

Ecce testem Deum invoco in animam meam quia non mentior neque ut sit occasio vobis neque ut honorem spero ab aliquo vestro. Sufficit enim honor qui non mentitur. Sed video jam in præsentī seculo me supra modum exaltatus sum a Domino. Et non eram dignus neque talis ut hoc mihi præstaret cum scio melius convenit paupertas et calamitas quam divitiarum et deliciarum. Sed et Christus Dominus pauper fuit pro nobis.

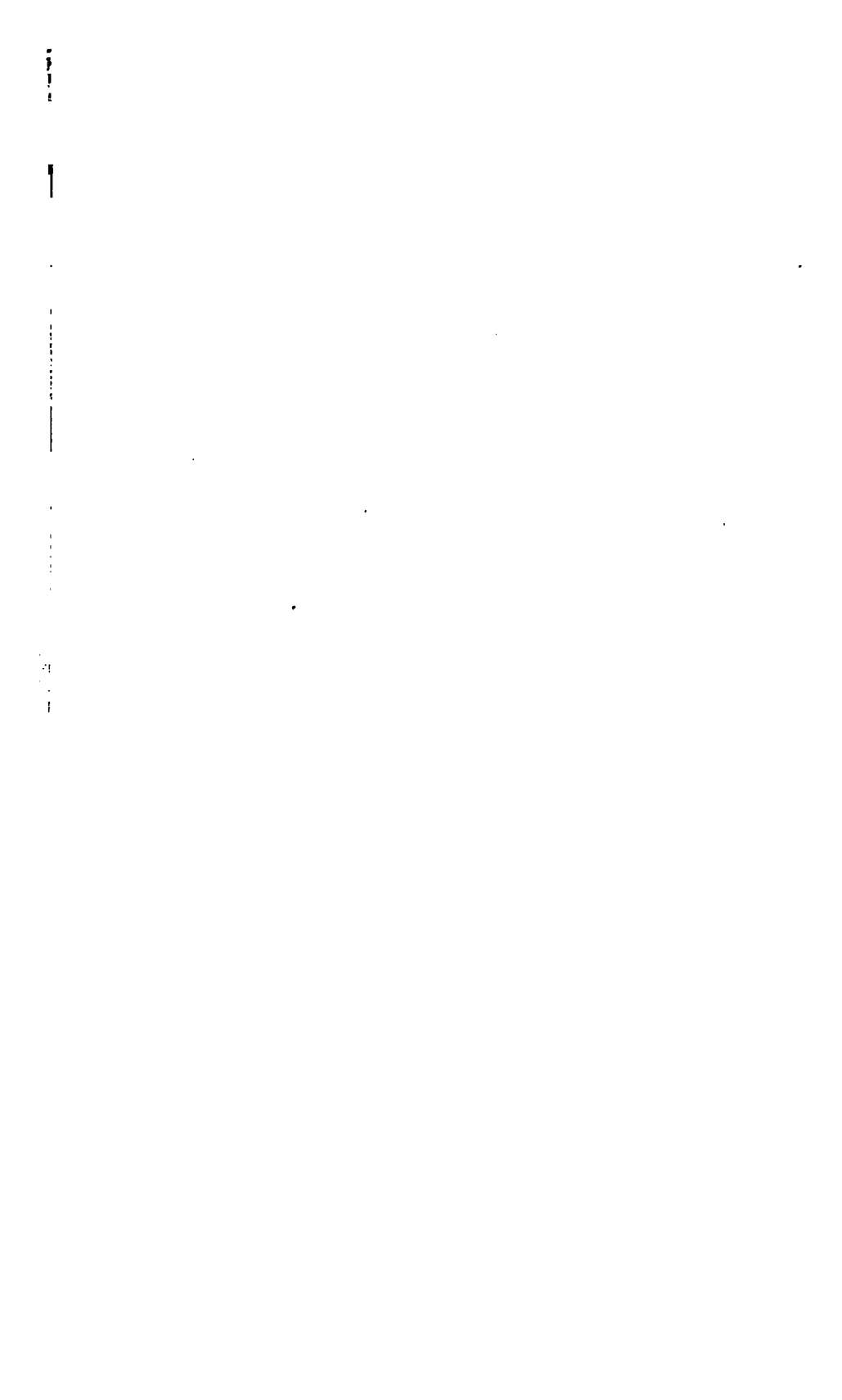
Ego vero miser et infelix et si opes voluero jam non habeo neque meipsum judico quia quotidie spero aut internecionem aut circumveniri aut redigi in servitutem sive occasio cujuslibet.

Sed precor credentibus et timentibus Deum quicumque dignatus fuerit inspicere vel recipere hanc scripturam quam Patricius peccator (inductus scilicet) *Hiberione* conscripsit ut nemo unquam dicat quod mea ignorantia si aliquid pusillum ego vel demonstraverim secundum. Sed arbitramini et verissime credatur quod donum Dei fuisset. Et hæc est *Confessio mea* antequam moriar.

Huc usque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua septima decima Martii die translatus est Patricius ad cælos.



IRISH ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.



IRISH
ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES,

BY

SIR WILLIAM BETHAM, F.S.A., L.S.
M. R. I. A. A. R. S. Z. S.

ULSTER KING OF ARMS OF ALL IRELAND, KEEPER OF THE RECORDS OF
THE LATE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND, DEPUTY KEEPER
OF THE RECORDS IN BIRMINGHAM TOWER, IN HIS
MAJESTY'S CASTLE OF DUBLIN, &c. &c.

VOL. I.

*" Si de veritate scandalum sumitur, utilius permittitur nasci scandalum, quam
ut veritas relinquatur."*

ST. AUGUSTINE.

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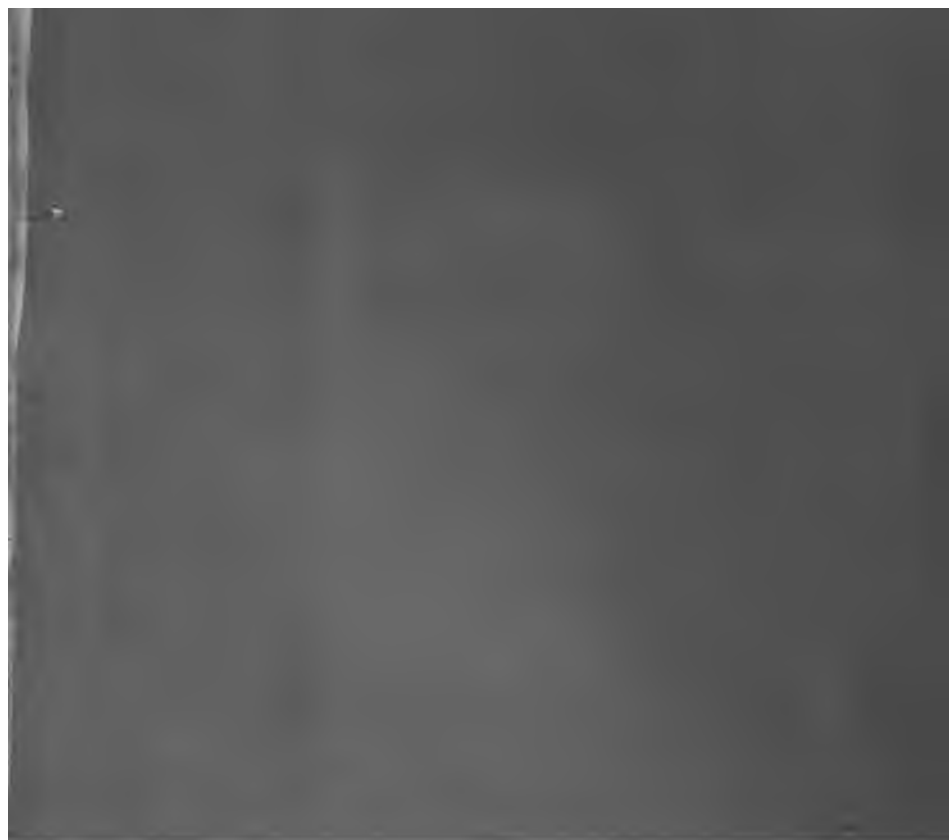
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